

GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA



KARNATAKA BACKWARD CLASSES COMMISSION

(Constituted under the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952)

(Central Act 60 of 1952)

REPORT

(In Four Volumes)

Volume I, Part II

APPENDICES

(Govt. Orders, Notifications, etc.,

&

Jurists' Seminar Speeches)

L. G. Havanur

Chairman

1975

VOLUME I, PART II

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CASTE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMISSION

1.	L. G. Havanur (Beda-Nayaka) ..	Chairman
2.	Y. Ramachandra (Kuruba) ..	Member
3.	K. R. Sreenivasulu Nayudu (Velama) ..	Member
4.	K. M. Naganna (Devanga) ..	Member
5.	A. Masana Chetty (Uppara) ..	Member
6.	Dharm Singh (Rajput) ..	Member
7.	P. T. Habib (S. S. Kshatriya) ..	Member

STAFF

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Designation of the post</i>	<i>Names of Officers</i>	<i>Period of service in the office of the Commission</i>
1	2	3	4
8.	Secretary	.. Smt. Achala Moulik, IAS. (Bengali-Brahmin) L. B. Mannikatti, Additional Charge, Deputy Director, Social Welfare Directorate (Beda) Y. Rupla Naik (Banjara, S. C.) Y. Rupla Naik, Member-Secretary Puttasomachary, Additional Charge (Viswakarma)	30-8-72 to 18-6-73 18-6-73 to 28-12-73 19-1-74 to 7-2-74 8-2-74 to 4-12-74 29-12-73 to 18-1-74 and 5-12-74 to-date
9.	Deputy Secretary	.. Puttasomachary, Deputy Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore from 10-9-73 (subsequently promoted as Joint Director from 26-2-74)	10-9-73 to-date
10.	Section Officer	.. H. M. R. Gowda, Section Officer, Karnataka Government Secretariat (Kuruba)	2-7-73 to-date
11.	Senior Assistant	.. Tirmal Rao, Superintendent, Grade I, Technical Education Department (Brahmin)	13-12-72 to-date
12.	Accounts Superintendent	R. Nagabhushana, State Accounts Department (Brahmin)	17-11-72 to-date
13.	Senior Statistical Assistant	M. Basavanna, Senior Statistical Assistant, Bureau of Economics and Statistics (Lingayat) Gangayellaiah, Senior Statistical Assistant, Bureau of Economics and Statistics (Kumbara)	1-5-74 to 11-9-74 6-11-74 to-date

1	2	3	4
14.	Senior Statistical Assistant	.. Mazhar Abbas, Senior Statistical Assistant, Bureau of Economics and Statistics (Muslim)	1-5-74 to-date
15.	Stenographer	.. M. Rangappa, Karnataka Government Secretariat (P.A. to Chairman) (Vokkaliga)	1-9-72 to-date
16.	Stenographer	.. M. S. Viswanath, Karnataka Government Secretariat (Brahmin)	14-11-72 to 16-6-73
		B. V. Sastry (re-employment, High Court of Mysore) (Brahmin)	14-2-74 to 21-5-74
		K. J. Jayaram (Devanga)	5-4-75 to-date
17.	Assistant	.. A. Dwarakanath, First Division Clerk, Karnataka Government Insurance Department (Brahmin)	21-12-72 to-date
18.	Assistant	.. Miss. Shanthi Menezes (Christian)	9-4-73 to 22-8-74
		S. S. Lamani (Banjara)	13-9-74 to 31-7-75
19.	First Division Clerk	.. K. V. Jagannatha, State Accounts Department (Brahmin)	23-11-72 to-date
20.	First Division Clerk	.. S. S. Patil (Beda)	9-8-74 to-date
21.	First Division Clerk	.. S. B. Sinnur (Devanga)	9-10-74 to-date
22.	First Division Clerk	.. C. G. Guttal (Devanga)	17-1-75 to-date
23.	First Division Clerk	.. T. Neelappa (Beda)	7-4-75 to-date
24.	Junior Assistant	.. B. Venkatarayanappa (Agasa)	1-3-73 to-date
25.	Junior Assistant	.. S. B. Sinnur	16-5-73 to 8-10-74
		C. G. Guttal	29-10-74 to 16-1-75
		Siddagangaiah (Kumbara)	14-4-75 to-date
26.	Junior Assistant	.. A. D. Hulgur (Lingayat)	18-4-74 to 31-7-75
27.	Junior Assistant	.. M. Chowdaiah (Madiga, S. C.)	13-5-74 to 24-9-75
28.	Junior Assistant	.. S. S. Lamani (Banjara)	18-10-74 to 12-5-75
		N. T. Lamani (Banjara)	22-5-75 to-date
29.	Junior Assistant	.. Miss. Shakuntala (Brahmin)	22-10-74 to 30-4-75
		Miss. Jamuna. S. (Lingayat)	1-5-75 to-date
30.	Junior Assistant	.. Smt. T. D. Jayalakshmi (Kuruba)	23-10-74 to 30-4-75
		E. Chikkagangaiah (Vokkaliga)	1-5-75 to-date

1	2	3	4
31.	Junior Assistant	Ashok H. Eligar (Beda)	16-12-74 to-date
32.	Junior Assistant	Ashok Talwar (Beda)	4-4-75 to-date
33.	Junior Assistant	H. D. Jalawadi (Kabbaliga)	18-4-75 to-date
34.	Typist	V. R. Hari (Brahmin)	11-12-72 to 19-9-73
		S. M. Narayanaswamy (Kuruba)	25-1-74 to 3-9-74
		Miss. S. N. Cirila (Christian)	21-9-74 to-date
35.	Typist	Ayaz (Muslim)	25-6-73 to 24-9-73
		Miss. Jyothi Bai, K. (Mudaliyar)	19-10-73 to 27-11-74
		—do—	28-11-74 to-date
		From State Accounts Department	to-date
36.	Typist	Miss. G. N. Kalavathy (Brahmin)	2-5-75 to-date
37.	Driver	J. Rajaiah (Christian)	14-1-74 to 29-6-74 and 3-8-74 to 6-1-75
		Ibrahim Khan (Muslim)	20-1-75 to 23-4-75
38.	Cycle Orderly	Y. Lakshman (Vokkaliga)	1-3-73 to-date
39.	Dalayat	J. Rajaiah	2-9-72 to 13-1-74
		S. C. Boraiah (Vokkaliga)	1-3-74 to-date
40.	Dalayat	J. George (Christian)	1-10-72 to 31-12-73
		Byroji Rao (Maratha)	9-1-75 to 2-4-75
		S. R. Muniyappa (Thigala)	3-6-75 to-date
41.	Dalayat	Y. Lakshman	10-1-72 to 1-3-73
		T. Venugopal (Kuruba)	2-3-73 to 20-12-74
		V. Gangaraju (Agasa)	10-1-75 to-date
42.	Dalayat	M. B. Rajagopalachar (Viswakarma)	11-10-74 to-date
43.	Dalayat	H. V. Krishnamurthy (Brahmin)	1-4-75 to 30-4-75
44.	Watchman	Doddaiah	26-2-73 to 31-5-73
		S. C. Boraiah	4-6-73 to 1-3-74
		B. Narayana Rao (Brahmin)	14-3-74 to 1-8-74
		A. L. Armugam (Mudaliyar)	27-9-74 to 4-4-75
		H. V. Krishnamurthy	1-5-75 to-date

**LIST OF TABULATORS WHO PROCESSED THE MATERIALS
PERTAINING TO SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY**

Sl. No. Names of Tabulators :

1. Ashok H. Talwar.
2. M. Anandaram.
3. C. S. Aravind.
4. S. Basavaraju.
5. S. C. Bettasomaiah.
6. Balasubramanya.
7. E. Chikkagangaiah.
8. N. Ethiraj.
9. Garudarangappa.
10. A. Gangappa.
11. B. S. Hedigejoli.
12. Hanumantappa Jalawadi.
13. Immanuel Vasanthakumar.
14. Jamuna, S.
15. Janardhana, M. S.
16. Jayalakshmi, K.
17. J. Jagannath.
18. V. S. Karajagimath.
19. S. Krishnamurthy.
20. Kalavathy, G. N.
21. B. Krishnamurthy.
22. N. T. Lamani.
23. H. Murthy.
24. S. S. Modi.
25. Mohan, A.
26. Mala, M. S.
27. Neelappa, T.
28. Nagarajamurthy, R.
29. S. Nagaraju.
30. Nagabhushanagowda, M. H.
31. N. Prakash.
32. Premasudhakar.
33. Ratnakar Balappa Karning.
34. Ramanna Chengti.
35. Rameshwar, M.
36. Saroja, S.
37. Savithramma, N.
38. Siddarangegowda, S. G.
39. Sathyanarayana, N.
40. Shivalingappa, P. L.
41. Somanna, S.
42. Siddagangaiah.
43. Syeda Tehera Banu.
44. P. Sathyanarayana.
45. G. N. Saraswathi.
46. P. Venkatesh.
47. V. R. Vijayadevaraya.
48. B. I. Vijayendrakumarsingh.
49. B. G. Yuvakumar.
50. Zakaulla Shariff.



APPENDIX 3

LIST OF VILLAGES AND TOWN/CITY DIVISIONS/WARDS SURVEYED

Names of Investigators, number of households and individuals etc.

Name of Taluk	Name of Village/Town/City Division selected	Name of Investigator	No. of house-holds	No. of persons		
				Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1. BANGALORE URBAN DISTRICT (RURAL)

Bangalore North	Byatha	A. M. Ramdas SWI	138	363	349	712
Bangalore South	Utharalli	B. V. Devaiah SWI	411	919	881	1800

BANGALORE URBAN DISTRICT (URBAN)

Chickpet Dn.	Abdul Kareem HI	187	478	409	887
Chamarajapet Dn.	N. Dharma lingam HI	198	759	663	1422
Cox Town Dn.	Rudraiah HI	200	407	151	558
Shivajinagar Dn.	D. V. Nata- rajan HI	186	452	463	915
Ulsoor Dn.	K. Basappa HI	196	496	437	933
Murugesh- palya (HAL S. Board)	N. Anantha- ram HI	199	506	475	981
Doorvaninagar (ITI Noti- fied Area)	N.S. Srinivasa- murthy HI	185	638	628	1266

2. BANGALORE RURAL DISTRICT (RURAL)

Anekal	Haragadde	Yellaiah SWI	255	560	633	1193
Devanahalli	Channarayana- patna	K. R. Shankara- chari SWI	150	425	359	784
Doddaballapur	Rajaghatta	Mallappa SWI	458	1122	1047	2169
Channapatna	Nagawara	H. T. Saliyana SWI	305	816	724	1540
Hoskote	Attibele	Aslam Pasha SWI	166	324	416	740
Kanakapura	Seegekote	K. B. Javare- gowda SWI	258	674	448	1122
	Hunasannahalli	K. B. Javare- gowda SWI	307	873	649	1522
Magadi	Solur	H. Ramaiah SWI	414	1043	895	1938
Nelamangala	Arasinakunte	C. K. Putta- basavaiah SWI	237	595	584	1179
Ramanagaram	Jalamangala	T. G. Das SWI	338	955	655	1610

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BANGALORE RURAL DISTRICT (URBAN)						
	Hoskote	R. Chandra	200	503	399	902
	Dn. 1.	Prasad HI				
	Magadi	B. K. Venka-	199	316	240	556
	Dn. 1.	teshaiah HI				
	Nelamangala	N. V. Jagan-	195	597	607	1204
	Dn. 1.	nath HI				
	Sarjapura	B. S. Muru-	208	596	542	1138
	Dn. 2.	gendrappa HI				
	Thyamagon-	H. Puttare-	202	594	644	1238
	dal Dn. 3.	vanna HI				
	Doddaballa-	B. S. Shiva-	189	525	370	895
	pura Dn. 3.	basappa HI				
	Anekal	T. G. Nagaraj	196	431	403	834
	Dn. 2.	HI				
	Channapatna	K. Venkata-	200	580	600	1180
	Dn. 5.	ppa HI				
	Ramanagara	Govindaraju	192	511	428	939
	Dn. 2.	HI				
	Yelahanka	M. Gopala-	192	284	282	566
		krishnaiah				
		HI				
	Vijayapura	B. Govindaiah	223	525	554	1079
		HI				
	Kanakapura	Basavalinge-	180	574	393	967
	Dn. 1.	gowda C.O.				
		I/C.				
3. BELGAUM (RURAL)						
Athani	Ghatanatti	Y. S. Medar	113	339	319	658
		SWI				
Belgaum	Mache	B. V. Kademani	115	204	79	283
		SWI				
Belgaum	Yeramale	B. V. Kademani	77	175	155	330
		SWI				
Chikkodi	Budihal	L. L. Ojappa-	200	747	661	1408
		gol SWI				
Chikkodi	Jainapura	do	263	704	439	1143
Gokak	Hulikatti	N. Keshava-	222	696	653	1349
		murthy SWI				
Gokak	Kolavi	do	292	1065	1004	2069
Hukkeri	Gondawada	S. R. Mane	185	687	549	1236
		SWI				
Khanapur	Habhal	A. B. Kolha-	255	698	713	1411
		pur SWI				
Soundathi	Teggihal	K. G. Betagur	115	517	408	925
		SWI				
Raibag	Jalalpur	D. A. Kamble	406	1240	1196	2436
		SWI				
Ramadurg	Aribenchi	B. T. Lamani	139	403	394	797
		SWI				
Sampagaon	Bailwad	G. Y. Bhara-	231	779	752	1531
		manna SWI				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
BELGAUM (URBAN)						
	Nippani Wd. 5.	B. K. Khot HI	199	581	411	992
	Ramadurg Wd. 2.	K. G. Chol- achagudda HI	146	401	398	799
	Athani Wd. 2.	M. N. Desha- mukh HI	180	502	559	1061
	Bailhongal Wd. 2.	S. S. Hiremath Clerk	181	333	426	759
	Soundathi Wd. 4.	A. J. Pathan HI	200	581	618	1,199
	Belgaum Wd. 4.	V. K. Haval- dar HI	200	536	508	1,044
	Belgaum Wd. 7.	M. H. Yeshwanth HI	100	266	275	541
	Gokak Falls (Notified area)	A. B. Sangolli HI	202	729	725	1,454
	Gokak Wd. 3.	M. S. Makana- dar HI	150	503	457	960
4. BELLARY (RURAL)						
Bellary	Bisalahalli	Srinivasalu SWI	110	280	298	578
Bellary	Chaganur	do	228	583	579	1,162
Hadagalli	Guladhalu	Hanumanthu SWI	150	362	371	733
Harapanaballi	Neelagunda	M. Thippa- swamy SWI	310	816	914	1,730
Hospet	Nagenahalli	A. Hussenappa Bandrgal SWI	240	762	547	1,309
Kudligi	Kyasanakere	K. M. Vecra- nna SWI	152	451	362	813
Mallapuram	Marrabbihal	S. M. Shivaiah SWI	84	217	213	430
Sondur	Lakshmipur	K. Sanjeeva- ppa SWI	213	688	600	1,288
Siraguppa	Sanavasapura	G. K. Wagha- mar SWI	217	778	612	1,390
BELLARY (URBAN)						
	Kamalapur Wd. 1.	Hussain Peer BC	180	308	178	486
	Bellary Wd. 9.	P. Nagaraja Rao SI	202	695	646	1,341
	Bellary Wd. 22.	C. Narasayya SI	200	591	552	1,143
	Hospet Wd. 1.	H. S. Rama- nna HI	200	430	445	875
5. BIDAR (RURAL)						
Aurad	Hulyal	Nazeer Hussain PA	108	426	387	813
Basavakalyan	Gokul	Mallikarjuna- ppa PA	248	645	421	1,066

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bhalki	Dadgi	Tukaram SWI	170	913	677	1,590
Bidar	Chimkod	N. Nagesh SWI	220	697	752	1,449
Humnabad	Hankuni	Iqbal Hussain SWI	213	561	524	1,085
BIDAR (URBAN)						
	Bhalki	S. M. Hasimi SI	197	608	648	1,256
	Bidar Wd. 9.	Mohamed Mazharul Haque SI	200	572	469	1,041
	Basavakalyan Wd. 2.	Gurunatha Rao SI	196	647	582	1,229
	Humnabad Wd. 2.	Prabhakar Rao SI	200	683	657	1,340
	Chitaguppa	Viswanatha Rao BC	201	534	456	990
6. BIJAPUR (RURAL)						
Badami	Adgal	G. G. Natikar SWI	389	1,185	1,175	2,360
Bagalkot	Gaddanakeri	Y. K. Doddam- mani SWI	309	829	717	1,546
Basavana-Bage- wadi	Benad	R. L. Sangali SWI	374	1,442	1,301	2,743
Bijapur	Kannal	M. C. Jaha- girdar SWI	122	401	337	738
Bijapur	Kaulagi	do	164	499	464	963
Bilgi	Anagawadi	S. S. Hosamani SWI	198	624	441	965
Hungund	Kelur	P. S. Bhuyar SWI	511	1,507	1,424	2,931
Indi	Ingalgi	Bhatagunaki SWI	145	602	516	1,118
Indi	Mannur	do	177	425	304	729
Jamkhandi	Kumbarhal	D. P. Kannur SWI	259	811	754	1,565
Muddebihal	Geddalamari	K. S. Talawar SWI	137	502	374	876
Mudhol	Chichakandi	M. I. Chala- wadi SWI	225	626	592	1,218
Sindgi	Malaghan	J. K. Honna- katti SWI	369	1,071	1,054	2,125
BIJAPUR (URBAN)						
	Guledgudda Wd. 3.	M. V. Venkata- ramana SI	198	616	602	1,218
	Bijapur Wd. 4.	B. A. Matt SI	200	504	453	957
	Bijapur Wd. 9.	C. G. Yeden- nawar FI	137	338	308	646
	Bagalkot Wd. 4.	J. B. Devdas SI	194	584	554	1,138
	Bagalkot Wd. 6.	N. B. Bennagar SI	198	623	649	1,272
	Jamkhandi Wd. 6.	S. R. Jangama- setty HI	202	496	476	972

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Mahalingapura Wd. 2.	R. B. Mirzi HI	200	526	550	1,076
	Rabkhavibanahatti Wd. 4.	Malabagalagi HI	200	617	578	1,195
	Ilkal Wd. 1.	C. G. Kagawad HI	194	467	442	909

7. CHICKMAGALUR (RURAL)

Chickmagalur	Kempannahalli	B. Kariyappa SWI	100	308	199	507
Kadur	Tangali	Ali Akbar PEO	128	355	275	630
Koppa	Somalapura	Puttaiah SWI	88	238	208	446
Mudigere	Bidarahalli	Yousuff SWI	91	286	233	519
Narasimharajapura	Kasbur	Ramanna SEO	89	303	257	560
Sringeri	Addagadde	Radhakrishna SEO	118	357	320	677
Tarikere	Duglapura	M. S. Puttaiah SWI	69	214	158	372

CHICKMAGALUR (URBAN)

Narasimharajapura Wd. 4.	N. B. Shivappa HI	165	512	424	936
Tarikere Wd. 1.	M. S. Puttaiah HI	100	311	223	534
Mudigere Wd. 2.	Gopinath HI	79	192	186	378
Sringeri Dn. 2.	Siddappa P HI	200	392	453	845
Birur Wd. 4.	B. V. Kumara-swamy Attender	125	360	432	792
Koppa Wd. 1.	K. Shekar HI	126	377	401	778
Chickmagalur Wd. 2.	T. H. Suruf HI	192	416	417	833

8. CHITRADURGA (RURAL)

Challakere	Devarahalli	C. Laxmikanth iah SWI	140	488	457	945
Chitradurga	Mallapura	Revanasiddaiah SWI	215	702	639	1,341
Davanagere	Basapura	A. K. Pakeerappa SWI	130	461	413	874
Davanagere	Rudranakatte	A. K. Pakeerappa SWI	75	215	192	407
Harihara	Halihalu	G. K. Krishnamurthy SWI	195	480	253	733

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Hiriyur	Halugalkunte	M. Thippeswamy	294	429	383	812
		SWI				
Holalkere	Ganjigatte-kunte	A. D. Durgappa	129	428	377	805
		SWI				
Hosadurga	Devigere	Keshavareddy	180	551	505	1,056
		PEO				
Jagalur	Kallegevarapura	Gangappa	277	859	801	1,660
		SWI				
Molakalmuru	Hanagal	Kenchappa H.	167	452	418	870
		SWI				
CHITRADURGA (URBAN)						
	Chitardurga	Abdul Rahim	199	636	617	1,253
	Wd. 3.	HI				
	Challakere	M. Ruttadain	179	519	510	1,029
	Dn. 1.	HI				
	Holalkere	Ramaiah	195	615	566	1,181
	Dn. C.	Shetty HI				
	Jagalur Dn. 2	G. Subbasastri	204	705	667	1,372
	Dn. 2.	HI				
	Turuvanur	Revanasiddaiah H.	200	693	610	1,303
		SWI				
	Harihar	D. Siddabasa-	162	569	557	1,126
	Dn. D.	ppa HI				
	Nayakana-	C. Laxmikan-	190	573	575	1,148
	hatti	thaiah				
	Wd. C.	SWI				
	Hosadurga	H. S. Dayanada Gupta	184	614	546	1,160
	Dn. B.	HI				
	Hiriyur	M. S. Gangadharaiab	195	447	507	954
	Dn. A.	HI				
	Molakalmuru	Kenchappa H.	197	624	542	1,166
	Dn. A.	SWI				
	Mayakonda	A. K. Pakeerappa	91	320	284	604
	Dn. A.	SWI				
	Davanagere	P. Channamallappa	201	651	604	1,255
	Wd. 1.	HI				
	Davanagere	M. Anandappa	222	718	701	1,419
	Wd. 6.	HI				
9. COORG (RURAL)						
Mercara	Kanthurmnod	B. M. Subbiah, SWI	200	469	392	861
Somwarpet	Gonimarur	C. Hombaiiah	127	305	354	659
		SWI				
Virajpet	Hudikere	A. C. Achaiah	207	471	407	878
		TWI				
COORG (URBAN)						
	Shuntikoppa	C. M. Somaiiah	78	212	203	415
	Dn. 2.	TWI				
	Somwarpet	M. Umada	201	493	487	980
	Dn. 1.	Clerk				
	Gonikoppal	Devadas, C.O.	95	222	159	381
	Dn. 4.					
	Virajpet	Shankararayana	193	642	587	1,229
	Dn. 3.	HI				

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Kushalnagar Dn. 2.	T. K. Raja Clerk	193	612	558	1,170
	Hebbale Dn. 1.	K. M. Monappa TWI	70	194	214	408
	Mercara Dn. 5.	C. Rajagopal HI	194	426	419	845
	Kodlipet Dn. 1.	K. P. Malli- karjuna Clerk	98	337	322	659
	Ponnampet Dn. 1.	K. H. Bangara C.O.	121	316	295	611
	Shanivar- santhe Dn. 1.	M. Indiresha C.O.	107	288	279	567
10. DHARWAR (RURAL)						
Byadgi	Gundenahalli	H. B. Itagi SWI	169	710	633	1,343
Dharwar	Kambarga- navi	H. R. Bajan- thri SWI	123	372	340	712
Gadag	Mallasamudra	S. K. Kalyani SWI	223	758	676	1,434
Hangal	Gondhi	P. H. Thakar SWI	265	778	765	1,543
Haveri	Hammardi	P. R. Anan- thapur SWI	173	559	538	1,097
Hirekerur	Kunchur	N. T. Bhat SWI	177	572	340	912
Kalaghatgi	Guddadahuli- katte	M. B. Mada- gankar SWI	115	354	359	713
Kundgol	Bullappana- koppa	H. Ramaiah SWI	147	311	211	522
Mundargi	Hesrur	S. B. Itagi SWI	198	403	339	742
Naragund	Banahatti	H. N. Chala- wadi	236	786	742	1,528
Navalgund	Javoor	G. M. Kocha- rekar SWI	156	482	473	955
Ranebennur	Nukapur	Y. C. Nargund SWI	176	661	616	1,277
Ron	Arahunshi	B. C. Kamble SWI	158	415	304	719
Savanur	Chowdal	P. N. Gotur	180	465	447	912
Shiggaon	Belawala- koppa	R. F. Bajantri SWI	162	569	493	1,062
Shirahatti	Majjur	B. K. Hasa- mani SWI	132	412	473	885
DHARWAR (URBAN)						
	Byadgi Wd. 5.	M. C. Naik HI	200	470	425	895
	Savanur Wd. 2.	F. P. Somakka- navar HI	147	450	486	936
	Gadag Wd. 3	D. Y. Bile— Angadi HI	203	492	468	960
	Ranebennur Wd. 2.	V. A. Belali- math HI	200	576	529	1,105
	Navalgunda Wd. 4.	S. V. Mathad HI	200	642	625	1,267

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Shirahatti Dn. 2.	C. R. Lak- kundimath HI	145	351	211	562
	Haveri Wd. 2.	M. R. Abdur HI	179	584	535	1,119
	Hubli-Dhar- war Wd. 3.	S. F. Mudenur HI	204	636	637	1,273
	Hubli Dhar- war Wd. 8.	G. M. Muttagi HI	194	609	586	1,195
	Naragund Wd. 1.	M. G. Maganur	200	470	481	951
	Kundgol Wd. 2.	H. B. Asundi HI	200	592	541	1,133
	11. GULBARGA (RURAL)					
Afzalpur	Arjungi	Revannappa SWI	179	437	400	837
Aland	Jidga (J)	Krishna Gogi SWI	232	769	731	1,500
Chincholi	Kallur	Siddaramaya- swamy SWI.	262	664	649	1,313
Chitapur	Chincholi	Malleshappa SWI	170	453	457	910
Chitapur	Kaddargi	Malleshappa SWI	142	413	396	809
Gulbarga	Keribhosaga	L. D. Rathod SWI	138	378	306	684
Gulbarga	Nandur (K)	L. D. Rathod SWI	168	418	395	813
Jevargi	Yelgod	Monappa SWI	248	711	668	1,379
Sedam	Hanganahalli (Hordurg)	Eswarappa SWI	119	351	340	691
Shahapur	Gordenur	Gurusiddappa SWI	192	374	356	730
Shorapur	Bijaspur	Ambanna SWI I/c.	142	383	328	711
Yadgir	Mudnal	Ramanna SWI	203	839	749	1,588
	GULBARGA (URBAN)					
	Gulbarga Dn. 3.	Jayachari SI	204	626	594	1,220
	Gulbarga Dn. 7.	Abubeker SI	206	594	876	1,470
	Shahabad Dn. 3.	S. M. Sajaud- din SI	167	371	302	673
	New Cement Engineering Works (Noti- fied area)	Chandrashekar SI	198	647	625	1,272
	Yadgir Dn. 2.	Amerban Salch SWI I/c.	199	527	633	1,160
	Shorapur Dn. 3.	S. M. Rajabali SI	198	643	642	1,285
	Aland Dn. 3	Sridhar Rao SI	194	644	632	1,276
	Chitapur Dn. 2.	S. K. Salam SI	197	525	566	1,091

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Chincholi Dn. 1.	Sidramayya SWI	198	677	645	1,322
	Shahapur Dn. 1.	Gurusiddappa SWI	202	656	613	1,269
	Sedam	Mallikarjuna SI I/c.	189	443	455	898
	Gurmitkal Dn. 1.	Ramanna SWI I/c.	146	501	551	1052
12. HASSAN (RURAL)						
Alur	Rayarakop- palu	H. Dore Raju SWI	120	244	223	467
Arkalgud	Doddamage	N. V. Rajappa SWI	186	459	439	898
Arasikere	Aggunda	Muniswamy SWI	334	951	1,007	1,958
Belur	Biccodu	S. T. Channa SWI	104	350	305	655
Channarayapatna	Jambur	C. Manjanna SWI	198	645	588	1,233
Hassan	Kattaya	Vilayath Hussain SWI	224	664	654	1,318
Hassan	Dudda	do	126	418	338	756
Holenarasipur	Halli Mysore	Kadaiah SWI	218	700	622	1,322
Sakleshpur	Yesalur	N. V. Rajappa SWI	190	507	366	873
HASSAN (URBAN)						
	Sravanabela- gola Dn. 3.	C. R. Chan- drasbekara Iyengar C.O. I/c.	130	350	316	666
	Hassan Dn. 1.	Thirumale- gowda HI	213	325	294	619
	Belur Dn. 3.	D. T. Krishre- gowda HI	200	527	549	1,076
	Channarayapa- tna Dn. 2.	H. N. Manju- nath HI	203	499	507	1,006
	Arakalgudu Dn. 3.	R. Lakkegowda HI	195	458	554	1,012
	Sakaleshpura Dn. 1.	H. H. Range- gowda HI	198	574	554	1,128
	Arasikere Dn. 1.	B. H. Kale- gowda HI	175	577	496	1,073
	Holenarsipura Dn. 6.	G. B. Nanja- ppa HI	200	491	415	906
	Alur Dn. 4.	H. Dore Raju SWI	115	335	217	552
	Konanur Dn. 3.	B. C. Chikka- lingaiah HI	170	426	465	891
	Banawara Dn. 5.	K. Thammaiah HI	200	516	405	921
13. KOLAB (RURAL)						
Bagepalli	Paragodu	Gangadhara- sastry SWI	105	235	227	462
Bangarapet	Hudukula	M. Mohan SWI	75	244	228	472
Bangarapet	Kuppanahalli	do	46	101	87	188

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Chikkaballapur	Aroor	S. Viswalingam I/c. P.A.	210	556	506	1,062
Chintamani	Perumachalla- nalli	Venkatarayappa SWI	91	279	270	549
Gauribidanur	C. Kurugodu	A. Laxmi- narayanappa SWI	196	406	118	524
Gudibanda	Katenahalli	Anjanappa SWI	57	104	72	176
Kolar	Marjena halli	M. Munivenka- tappa SWI	99	235	N.S.	235
Malur	Chikkathiru- pathi	M. Venkatappa SWI	103	228	239	467
Mulbagal	Koldevi	R. Govinda- ppa SWI	149	359	393	752
Sidlaghatta	Bachanahalli	Gopalakrishna SWI	34	72	52	124
Srinivasapur	Lakshmisagar	H. M. Muni- venkatappa SWI	141	398	395	793
KOLAR (URBAN)						
Chikkaballa- pur Dn. 1.		H. N. Rama- chandruppa HI	113	253	245	498
Bangarpet Dn. C.		P. Vittal HI	114	241	239	480
Sidlagatta Dn. C.		S. Pannu- swamy HI	200	554	437	991
Kolar Dn. 1		K. Thimmaiah HI	86	250	214	464
Chinthamani Dn. 3.		D. N. Subba- reddy HI	154	399	392	791
Gauribidanur Dn. C.		K. David HI	126	378	351	729
Gudibanda Dn. C.		Anjanappa SWI	94	128	116	244
Manchenahalli Dn. A.		V. S. Shesha ppa.	117	291	287	578
Robertsonpet Dn. 4.		A. Narayana- reddy HI	95	237	222	459
Bagepalli Dn. D.		Gangadhara- sastry SWI	108	196	196	392
Srinivasapura Dn. 1.		Narayanappa HI	115	293	266	559
14. MANDYA (RURAL)						
K. R. Pet	Pura	Siddegowda SWI	63	224	185	409
Maddur	Kodihalli	R. Thamma- nna SWI	132	411	370	781
Malavalli	Muthenahalli	Puttasiddaiah SWI	69	194	183	377
Mandya	Pura	Rafiek Ahmed SWI	77	213	216	429
Mandya	Baby	do	99	271	200	471
Nagamangala	Chinya	Mohmed Khasi SWI	320	882	808	1,690

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Pandavapura	Haralahalli	Chaluvaiah SWI	172	355	395	750
Srirangapattana	Baburayana- koppalu	R. Lakshman SWI	249	708	620	1,328

MANDYA (URBAN)

Pandavapura Dn. 4.	Chowdaiah HI	189	528	545	1,073
Maddur Dn. 2.	Vishakantaiah HI	276	872	790	1,662
Srirangapat- tana	R. Lakshmana SWI	228	752	704	1,456
Mandya Dn. 2.	Ankaiah and Nagaraj HI	200	507	444	951
Nagamangala Dn. 3.	Raju HI	200	603	698	1,301
Krishnaraja- pet. Dn. 5.	Ramegowda HI	200	592	587	1,179
Bellur Dn. 1.	Nataraj HI	223	577	545	1,122
Melukote Dn. 1.	Basavaraju SWI	108	257	257	514
Malavalli Dn. 3.	Puttaswamy HI	200	653	676	1,329
Belakawadi Dn. 2.	Varadharaja Iyengar HI	223	667	494	1,161

15. MYSORE (RURAL)

Chamarajanagara	Santhemara- halli	Shivaiah SWI	323	859	833	1,692
Chamarajanagara	Bhogapura	do	197	553	527	1,080
H. D. Kote	Hampapura	Channaiah SWI	159	411	365	776
Hunsur	Kallahalli	H. S. Nagappa SWI	133	439	375	814
Kollegal	Uthamballi	Shivaiah SWI	266	614	594	1,238
K. R. Nagar	Narayanapura	Smt. K. M. Kamala I/c SWI	141	332	333	665
Mysore	Keelanapura	Chaluvaiah SWI	137	269	281	550
Mysore	Hutagahalli	Chaluvaiah SWI	158	376	376	762
Pariyapattana	Sathyagala	B. Basavaraj Clerk	147	413	398	811
T. Narsipura	Hittuvalli	Kempaiah SWI	245	621	587	1,208
Yelandur	Uppinamole	Satyanarayana Setty SWI	90	269	251	520

MYSORE (URBAN)

Pariyapattana Dn. 3.	E. Achutha Nayer HI	184	597	570	1,167
Yelandur Dn. 4.	Sathyana- narayana Setty SWI	199	587	542	1,129

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Mysore (Mandi mohalla)	K. T. Gunda- ppa HI	195	654	562	1,216
	Mysore (Nazar- bad)	V. Ramaiah HI	201	579	569	1,148
	Chamaraja- nagara Dn. 5.	V. Ramanna HI	200	604	633	1,237
	Nanjangud Dn. 1.	Satyanarayana Swamy HI	201	605	549	1,154
	Hunsur Dn. 3.	Kaverappa TWI	160	375	389	764
	Sargur Dn. 2.	Channaiah SWI	182	454	557	1,011

16. NORTH KANARA (RURAL)

Ankola	Tenkanakeri	R. S. Patagar SWI	208	710	596	1,306
Bhatkal	Bengre	E. R. Holswar SWI	320	1,018	971	1,989
Haliyal	Havgi	P. R. Habba SWI	192	601	592	1,193
Honnavar	Haldipur	G. J. Naik SWI	290	737	644	1,381
Karwar	Hankon	R. V. Shetty SWI	247	551	680	1,231
Kumta	Baad	M. G. Aversare SWI	170	612	586	1,198
Mundgod	Indoor	M. D. Pawaskar SWI	241	821	734	1,558
Siddapura	Bedkani	S. A. Ager SWI	208	634	602	1,236
Sirsi	Badangodu	S. M. Kondhli SWI	293	743	550	1,293
Supa	Jagalbet	K. Y. Harijan SWI	134	400	376	776
Yellapur	Madnur	P. P. Hulswar SWI	195	516	587	1,103

NORTH KANARA (URBAN)

Kumta Wd. 4.	D. R. Shan- bag HI	199	605	541	1,146
Sirsi Wd. 6.	R. M. Fer- nandes HI	190	654	641	1,295
Haliyal Wd. 2.	S. A. Kamath HI	198	576	473	1,049
Honnavar Wd. 3.	S. V. Honna- war HI	199	552	562	1,114
Bhatkal Wd. 1.	K. Karuppan HI	200	534	491	1,025
Dandeli (N.A.)	T. M. Masthe- kar HI	176	495	485	980
Karwar Wd. 3.	R. S. Kumta HI	194	569	614	1,183

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17. RAICHUR (RURAL)						
Deodurg	Bandegod	Islamal Haq SWI	80	194	163	357
Gangavathi	Marli	Yemanappa SWI	254	671	645	1316
Koppal	Halgera	Basalingappa SWI	356	985	856	1841
Kushtagi	Gumgeri	Amarappa SWI	202	551	538	1081
Lingasugur	Ashihal	Rangappa SWI	210	555	586	1141
Manvi	Ammingod	Syed Rafi Hyder SWI	270	627	776	1403
Raichur	Murharpur	Mallikarjun SWI	104	267	151	418
Raichur	Rampur	Mallikarjun SWI	315	876	555	1431
Sindhanur	Umloti	Jadeppa SWI	163	520	501	1021
Yelburga	Sanganal	Sawarappa SWI	336	734	787	1521
RAICHUR (URBAN)						
	Kushtagi Dn. 2	Vijendrachar SI	199	446	391	837
	Raichur Wd. 5	P. M. Mathai SI	203	515	406	911
	Gangavathi Wd. 4	Venkatesha- rao SI	201	460	367	827
	Manvi	B. Hanumantha- ppa SI	199	541	550	1091
	Lingasugur	Sarvothama- rao SI	211	405	353	758
	Koppal Wd. 4	Channanaikar SI	212	451	437	888
	Deodurg	K. Jamaluddin SI	199	541	569	1110
	Sindhanur Wd. 1	Mohmed Hussain SI	195	624	578	1202
	Mudgal Wd. 2	Hanumantha- rao SI	199	459	689	1148
18. SHIMOGA (RURAL)						
Bhadravathi	Hebbandi	S. Siddaiah SWI	121	312	320	632
Channagiri	Ajjihalli	S. Gopal Rao SWI	185	636	582	1218
Honnali	Devanaya- kanahalli	T. M. Mana- ppa SWI	121	333	298	631
Hosanagar	Ripponpet	G. Mariyappa SWI	192	518	589	1107
Sagar	Anandapura	S. B. Sagar SWI	246	703	557	1260
Shikaripur	Harogoppa	G. Halappa SWI	102	295	271	566
Shimoga	Parle	B. Venkat- ramaiah SWI	176	735	498	1233

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Soraba	Kuppagadde	A. K. Halappa SWI	263	1202	1122	2324
Theerthahalli	Devangi	Sannahalappa SWI	91	249	223	472

SHIMOGA (URBAN)

Chennagiri Dn. 3	A. K. Chidam- baraiiah HI	201	534	470	1004
Theerthahalli Dn. 1.	K. L. Savang HI	193	533	564	1097
Soraba Dn. 4	H. S. Naga- rajarao HI	202	561	537	1098
Shikaripur Dn. 2	Chandaiah P. Kotian	202	646	534	1180
Shimoga Dn. 3	K. Danappa HI	192	613	579	1192
Shimoga Dn. 9	Shivananjappa HI	204	740	666	1406
Sagar Dn. 1	T. Govindappa HI	227	747	466	1212
Honnali Dn. 3	D. Rama- murthy HI	192	640	592	1232
Kumasi Dn. 2	Madaiah RI	169	637	568	1205
Nyamthi Dn. 1	K. Bala- krishna HI	172	431	408	839
Shiralkoppa Dn. 3	B. Nanjappa BC	174	541	502	1043
Bhadravathi Dn. 4	J. B. Jaya- swamy HI	208	628	558	1186
Bhadravathi (N.A.)	S. L. Sudar- shan HI	204	585	506	1091
Hosanagar	A. N. Rama- krishna HI	198	647	606	1253

19. SOUTH KANARA (RURAL)

Belthangadi	Badekodi	Hariyappa T W I	126	381	369	750
Buntwal	Budoli	Narayana- kamath SWI	71	248	262	510
Buntwal	Channaihtodi	do	127	416	371	787
Coondapur	Haladi (28)	M. Mukunda SWI	156	452	472	924
do	Hombady Mundady	do	155	487	534	1021
Karkal	Padukunaje	Pushpakara SWI	169	477	436	913
Mangalore	Elthur	O. Joseph Arthur SWI	122	217	283	500
Mangalore	Madya	do	88	272	322	594
Puttur	Alanthaya	N. Subbanaik TWI	95	325	332	657
Sullia	Hariharapall- athadaka	K. Sheshappa I/c. SWI	111	307	254	561
Udipi	Marne	P. Dharmo- dhara SWI	146	533	552	1085
Udipi	Bellaripady	do	113	294	355	649

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SOUTH KANARA (URBAN)						
	Mangalore Wd. 14.	N. Mohandas SI	193	520	463	983
	Mangalore Wd. 4.	A. Raghava SI	187	619	650	1269
	Udipi Dn. 4	K. S. Nayak SI	197	582	648	1230
20. TUMKUR (RURAL)						
Chikkanayakanahalli	Sasalu	J. Puttagan- gaiah SWI	223	594	554	1148
Gubbi	Ammana- ghatta	T. B. Gollar SWI	268	519	424	943
Koratagere	Thumbadi	Narasimha- murthy SWI	224	526	556	1082
Kunigal	Santhemava- thur	R. T. Govin- dappa SWI	181	484	440	924
Madhugiri	Mallanayaka- nahalli	G. Muniyappa SWI	191	477	469	946
Pavagada	Kotagudda	P. N. Anja- nappa SWI	220	536	323	859
Sira	Thavarekere	T. Thimmaiah SWI	389	1050	976	2026
Tiptur	Annapura	H. Chikkanna SWI	144	379	381	760
Tumkur	Bellavi	B. Mallaiiah SWI	222	573	566	1139
Tumkur	Mallasandra	do	193	466	422	888
Turuvekere	Doddaghatta	Noorjan SWI	109	371	329	700
TUMKUR (URBAN)						
	Tumkur Dn. 2	Shankar Rao HI	201	462	414	876
	Tumkur Dn. 7	N. Shanka- raiah HI	202	611	563	1174
	Chikkanaya- kanahalli Dn. 1	Venkatesha- iah Clerk	207	519	383	902
	Gubbi Dn. 2	H. K. Ranga- rao HI	201	552	533	1085
	Koratagere Dn. 1	Saqaashivaiah HI	198	537	629	1166
	Kunigal Dn. 2	A. Kalachar HI	200	643	539	1182
	Y. N. Hosakote Dn. 1	Abdul Gani HI	198	520	448	968
	Sira Dn. 1	Mohmed Ibrahim HI	199	587	547	1134
	Madugiri Dn. 1	C. Nagarna HI	191	560	578	1138
	Pavagada Dn. C	Thippeswamy HI	200	475	432	907
	Turuvekere Dn. 3	Ramachandra Rao HI	167	495	515	1010
	Ammasandra (N.A.)	Syed Abdul Aziz HI	78	242	210	452
	Tiptur Dn. 5	N. Sundara Raju HI	195	498	476	974

OFFICERS WHO SUPERVISED SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of the District</i>	<i>Name of the District Social Welfare Officer</i>	<i>Name of the District Statistical Officer</i>
		Sriyuths:—	Sriyuths:—
1.	Bangalore Urban	S. Basavaraj	K. C. Laxmikantha Setty
2.	Bangalore Rural	A. N. Anandaram	K. C. Laxmikantha Setty
3.	Belgaum	K. K. Ahamed	R. G. Hiremath
4.	Bellary	H. P. Raje Urs	A. N. Chandrashekarappa
5.	Bidar	Mohamed Hasnuddin I/c	Mohamed Mashaiq Ali
6.	Bijapur	P. Nagendrappa	M. M. Burli
7.	Chikmagalur	B. R. Parasuram	N. Chandrappa
8.	Chitradurga	D. S. Thippeswamy	C. V. Patil
9.	Coorg	S. G. Patil	Gangadharaswamy
10.	Dharwar	T. G. Doddamani	V. M. Gangannawar
11.	Gulbarga	A. V. Jahageerdhar	R. I. Patil
12.	Hassan	T. C. Devapalaiah	H. B. Chikkanarasegowda
13.	Kolar	D. M. Krishnaswamy	D. Mahadevappa
14.	Mandya	T. G. Shivanaga	P. Naganandavijaya
15.	Mysore	M. L. Lingaiah	M. R. Venugopala Rao
16.	North Kanara	R. K. Kulkarni	M. Chidanandaiah
17.	Raichur	Sharanappa	B. S. Gudi
18.	Shimoga	A. M. Chennaiah I/c	C. Shivamurthappa
19.	South Kanara	C. H. Jacob Lobo	Prabhakara Heggade
20.	Tumkur	N. Laxminarasaiab	C. Eswarachary

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA

Subject : Karnataka Backward Classes Commission—Socio-Economic Survey of the Backward Classes—Orders issued

GOVERNMENT ORDER NO. SWD 389 SET 73, BANGALORE, DATED, 25TH APRIL 1974

READ :

1. G.O. No. SWD 81 SET 72 dated 8th August 1972.
2. Notification No. SWD 302 SET 73 dated 9th October 1973.
3. Letter No. BCC/SES/2130/74 dated 2nd January 1974 from the Secretary, Backward Classes Commission, Bangalore.

PREAMBLE :

In Government Order read at (1) above, the Karnataka Backward Classes Commission has been constituted to suggest the criteria to be adopted for determining whether any class of persons in the State other than Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be treated as socially and educationally Backward Classes.

In Notification No. SWD 302 SET 73, dated 9th October 1973 read at (2) above, the Government have directed that the Mysore Backward Classes Commission shall be a Commission under sub-section (1) of Section 5 of the Commissions of Inquiry Act, 1952 (Central Act 60 of 1952).

In letter read at (3) above, the Secretary, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission has stated that it is necessary to conduct an ad-hoc survey relating to the Socio Economic conditions of different classes of citizens for proper determination of the Backward Classes. He has suggested that at least one village in each Taluk and two blocks in each of 245 towns/cities should be selected for the conduct of the Socio Economic Survey.

In the meeting held on 26 th December 1973 at which the Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics and the Deputy Secretary, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission were present, it was decided that the survey has to be completed within 3 months time under the technical guidance of the Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics. The Commission has to get the schedules printed and supplied. The Investigators and Tabulators are to be recruited on contract basis and placed at the disposal of the Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics. It is also estimated that the field work can be completed in two months time with 200 Investigators and Tabulation could be completed in one month with 100 Tabulators. The District Statistical Officer and one Senior Statistical Assistant of each District could take up training, supervision of survey work at District level. One Deputy Director and two Assistant Directors of the Bureau could look after the Tabulation

work at Bangalore. For this work the Commission has proposed to pay small honorarium to the Officers and Assistants of the Bureau as detailed below :

<i>Item</i>	<i>Rate of Honorarium</i>	<i>Cost</i>
		Rs.
1. Field work (Remuneration)	At the rate of Rs. 200 per month to 200 Investigators for 2 months	80,000
2. Tabulators	At the rate of Rs. 200 per month to 100 Tabulators for 1 month	20,000
3. Honorarium to District Statistical Officers	At Rs. 100 per month to 19 District Statistical Officers for 2 months	3,800
4. Honorarium to the Senior Statistical Assistants	At Rs. 50 per month to 19 Senior Statistical Assistants for 2 months	1,900
5. Honorarium to Deputy Director	At Rs. 150 per month to 1 Deputy Director for 1 month	150
6. Honorarium to Assistant Director	At Rs. 100 per month to 2 Assistant Directors for 1 month	200
7. Printing Charges		25,000
8. Other charges including Stationery, furniture hire, etc		25,000
Total ..		1,56,050

The Secretary, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission has requested sanction of Government to incur an expenditure of Rs. 1,56,050 for conducting a Socio Economic Survey. He has also requested to instruct the Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore, to take up the survey under his technical guidance on Top-priority.

ORDER :

Sanction is accorded to the conduct of Socio Economic Survey by the Karnataka Backward Classes Commission with the technical assistance of the Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics for the proper determination of the Backward Classes other than the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the State.

Sanction is also accorded to the following :

(i) Appointment of two hundred Investigators at Rs. 200 (Rupees Two hundred) per month and one hundred Tabulators at Rs. 200 (Rupees Two hundred) per month on contract basis for two months and one month respectively.

(ii) Honorarium to two Assistant Directors of the Bureau of Economics and Statistics for one months at Rs. 100 (Rupees One hundred) per month each.

(iii) Honorarium to 19 District Statistical Officers for two months at Rs. 100 (Rupees one hundred) per month each.

(iv) Expenditure of Rs. 50,000 (Rupees Fifty Thousand) on printing and other charges.

The District Statistical Officer in each District should take up the training and Supervision of Survey work at the District level. Two Assistant Directors of Bureau of Economics and Statistics should look after the Tabulation work at Bangalore.

The expenditure on items (i), (ii) and (iii) is debitable to "288 Social Security and Welfare-C-Welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes — 6 other Expenditure — 1 Karnataka Backward Classes Commission—6—Payment of Professional and Special Services" and the expenditure on printing to "3 Office Expenses".

The excess amount required shall be met by re-appropriation of savings

This Order issues with the concurrence of Finance Department—*vide* their U.O. Note FD/0-397//S-I/74, dated 8th April 1974.

By Order and in the name of the Governor of Karnataka,

K. B. SURENDRANATH,
*Under Secretary to Government,
Social Welfare and Labour Department.*



नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF KARNATAKA

Subject: Socio-Economic Survey of Backward Classes—Orders issued

ORDER No. SWD 389 SET 73, BANGALORE, DATED 21ST OCTOBER 1974

READ :

1. G.O. No. SWD 389 SET 73, dated 25th April 1974.
2. Letter No. KBCC/STS/400/74, dated 22nd June 1974, from the Secretary, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission, Bangalore.

PREAMBLE :

In the Government Order read at (1) above, sanction was accorded for the conduct of socio-economic survey by the Karnataka Backward Classes Commission with the technical assistance of Director, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Bangalore.

The Secretary, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission in his read at (2) above, has stated that it is not possible to get the required number of candidates to work as Investigators and, therefore, suggested that Social Welfare Inspectors and Health Inspectors of Municipalities/Corporations for town/city divisions may be appointed as Investigators. The Social Welfare/Health Inspectors will be trained and their work will be supervised by the District Statistical Officers/District Social Welfare Officers of the concerned districts.

ORDER :

The Secretary, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission's proposal cited in the preamble is approved.

For item 1 in para 2 of the Order No. SWD 389 SET 73, dated 25th April 1974, the following items shall be substituted :—

(1) (a) Appointment of 200 Social Welfare Inspectors and 204 Health Inspectors of Municipalities/Corporations as Investigators and to pay them a lumpsum honorarium at Rs. 100 (Rupees one hundred only) per village/division or ward.

(b) Appointment of 100 Tabulators at Rs. 200 (Two hundred Rupees only) per month each on contract basis for one month.

(c) Honorarium to 20 District Social Welfare Officers for two months at Rs. 100 (Rupees one hundred only) per month each.

This order issues with the concurrence of Finance Department *vide* their U.O. Note No. FD 0.1381/S.I/74, dated 1st October 1974.

By Order and in the name of the Governor of Karnataka,

N. NARAYANASWAMY,

*Under Secretary to Government,
Social Welfare and Labour Department.*

APPENDIX 6

Tours undertaken by Karnataka Backward Classes Commission within the State

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of the District</i>	<i>Places visited</i>	<i>Members</i>
1	2	3	4
			Sriyuths—
28-10-72	Kolar	Malur Bangarpet Kolar }	{ L. G. Havanur K. M. Naganna P. T. Habib Dharm Singh A. Masanachetty K. R. S. Nayudu Y. Ramachandra
29-10-72		K.G.F. Mulbagal Srinivasapur Chintamani }	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu Y. Ramachandra
9-11-72	Chitradurga	Hiriyur Chitradurga }	{ L. G. Havanur K. M. Naganna Dharm Singh
10-11-72		Davanagere Harihara Malebennur }	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu A. Masanachetty P. T. Habib Dharm Singh
11-11-72	Dharwar	Ranebennur Hirekerur Haveri Siggaoon Hubli Tumricop }	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu A. Masanachetty P. T. Habib Dharm Singh
12-11-72		Gadag Hangal Mavakop Balur }	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu A. Masanachetty P. T. Habib Dharm Singh
6-1-73	Hassan	Hassan Channarayapatna Holenarsipur Arkalgud Sakaleshpur }	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu Dharm Singh P. T. Habib
9-1-73	South-Kanara	Beltangadi	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu Dharm Singh P. T. Habib
10-1-73		Buntwal Mangalore }	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu P. T. Habib
11-1-73		Karkala Udipi }	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu P. T. Habib
12-1-73		Coondapur	
1-2-73	Mysore	Mysore Nanjangud T. Narsipur Kollegal Yelandur Mudigunda Agara Chamarajanagara }	

1	2	3	4
4-2-73		H. D. Kote K. R. Nagar Periyapatna	Sriyuths—
5-2-73	Coorg	Mercara Bhagamandala	{ L. G. Havanur A. Masanachetty K. R. S. Nayudu
6-2-73		Virajpet	{ P. T. Habib
7-2-73		Ponnampet Somwarpet Gowdahalli Shanthihalli Alur-Siddapur	{ K. M. Naganna Dharm Singh Y. Ramachandra
24-6-73	Shimoga	Bhadravathi Shimoga	
25-6-73		Kadada Katte Siriur Thanda	
		Hunsekatte Honnali	
26-6-73		Hanumasagar Shikaripur	{ K. R. S. Nayudu Y. Ramachandra
		Jog	
27-6-73		Sagar Anandapur Hosanagar Ripponpet Aiyanur	
28-6-73	Chickmagalur	Tarikere Kadur	
8-9-74 to Mysore		Srirangapatna	{ L. G. Havanur K. R. S. Nayudu
11-9-74			
19-11-74	Chitradurga	Davanagere	
20-11-74	Bellary	Harapanahalli	
21-11-74		Hospet	
22-11-74		Kamalapur Karehalli Veerapalli Harangi Kudalgi Bommehalli	{ Y. Ramachandra K. R. S. Nayudu
23-11-74			
15-1-75	Bijapur	Badami Bagalkot Bagewadi Bijapur Baradoti Chidachin Saddedon Bijapur Jamkhandi Banahatti Gokak Balekundri and other villages	
18-1-75			{ Y. Ramachandra K. R. S. Nayudu
19-1-75	Belgaum		
20-1-75		Yeragatti	
21-1-75		Ramdurg Saundatti	
16-10-75	Tumkur	Tumkur	
17-10-75		Kunigal	

1	2	3	4
			Sriyuths—
18-10-75	Tumkur	Turuvekere	{ K. R. S. Nayudu
19-10-75		Tiptur	
20-10-75		Chicknayakanahalli	
		Gubbi	

Tours undertaken by Karnataka Backward Classes Commission
outside the State

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name of the State</i>	<i>Places visited</i>	<i>Members</i>
			Sriyuths—
12-11-73	Tamil Nadu	Madras	{ Y. Ramachandra K. R. S. Nayudu
13-11-73		Trichi	
14-11-73		Madurai	
15-11-73	Kerala	Trivendrum	
16-11-73			{ Y. Ramachandra
17-11-73	Tamil Nadu	Kanyakumari	
19-11-73	Kerala	Guruvayur	
20-11-73	Tamil Nadu	Coimbatore	
2-9-75 to 5-9-75	Maharashtra	Bombay	{ K. R. S. Nayudu Dharm Singh
6-9-75 to 11-9-75	Jammu and Kashmir	Jammu	
12-9-75		Srinagar	
15-9-75		Jammu	
16-9-75		Delhi	
17-9-75 to 22-9-75	Delhi	Delhi	

APPENDIX 7

List of Individuals / Organisations submitting Memoranda, Representations and Replies to Questionnaire

Sl. No.	Name of Individuals/ Organisations	Community	Place
1.	President, Madivala Yuvaka Sangha	Agasa	Bangalore
2.	President, Mysore Madivala Mahajana Sangha	do	do
3.	Secretary, Madivala Jananga Abhivruddhi Committee	do	do
4.	Bharathi Madivala Sangha	do	do
5.	Secretary Madivala Sangha	do	Rampura
6.	Secretary, Madivalara Co-operative Sthalika Society Ltd.,	do	Bellary
7.	A. H. Ningappa and 8 others	do	Chitradurga
8.	President, Madivala Machidevara Sangha	do	Hiriyur
9.	President, Madivala Machidevara Sangha	do	Davanagere
10.	B. Mallappa and 20 others	do	Dharwar
11.	B. N. Mallaiah	do	Rattihalli
12.	S. B. Kundgol	do	Hubli
13.	Chairman, Gadag-Betageri Town Madivalara Sangha	do	Gadag-Betageri
14.	Vice-Chairman, Laxmeshwara Agricultural Produce Marketing Committee	do	Suranagi
15.	L.G. Madivalara and 14 others	do	Ranebennur
16.	G. Y. Savanur	do	Hubli
17.	Narasingappa Chandanavar	do	Dharwar
18.	Gangadhara Madivalar and 12 others	do	Haveri
19.	K. S. Agasar and 4 others	do	Hanagal
20.	Chairman, Hubli Madivalara Co-operative Credit Society Ltd.,	do	Hubli
21.	President, Hassan Jilla Madivalara Machideva Mahajan Seva Sangha	do	Hassan
22.	Annaiah and 43 others	do	Holenarsipur
23.	President, Madivalara Sangha	do	Channarayana
24.	Javarashetti and 6 others	do	Hassan
25.	Mahadeva and 40 others	do	Nanjangud
26.	Secretary, Veera Madivala Sangha	do	Mysore
27.	Ningashetti and 18 others	do	Chamarajanagara
28.	Siddashetti and 8 others	do	do
29.	Lingashetti and 5 others	do	Madhuvanahalli
30.	Basavasetti and 6 others	do	H.D. Kote
31.	Papashetti and 8 others	do	K.R. Nagar
32.	President, Sagar Taluk Madivala Sangha	do	Sagar
33.	President, Dakshina Kannada Sri Rajaka Kulodharaka Sangha	do	Mangalore

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
34.	President, Sri Rajaka Sangha	Agasa	Udipi
35.	President, Arasu Mandali Sangha	Arasu	Mysore
36.	President, Areru Community Sangha	Areru	Hanagal
37.	President, Kodagu Ayiri Vidya-bhivruddhi Sangha	Ayiri	Hoddur
38.	President Baliya Sangha	Baliya	Bangalore
39.	Chairman, Baliya one Man Commission	do	do
40.	President, Chitradurga District Baliya Sangha	do	Chitradurga
41.	R. T. Naidu	do	Harihara
42.	D. Krisnamurthy	do	Davanagere
43.	N. Hanumanthappa	do	Harihara
44.	S. Ramachandra Naidu	do	Hubli
45.	President, Telugu Baliya Sangha	do	Holenarsipura
46.	President, Telugu Baliya Sangha	do	Kollegal
47.	T. Venkatappa	do	Shikaripura
48.	V. S. Pandit, Balyaya Mahajana Sabha	Balyaya	Mangalore
49.	K. V. Bandi	Bandi	Hubli
50.	N. N. Borkar	do	Karwar
51.	B. M. Shama Naik	Banjara	Kadur
52.	V. R. Lakshmiopathi, Lambani Sangha	do	Harihara
53.	Akhandappa Siddappa Jadyavar	do	Dharwar
54.	Laxmana Mukkappa Lamani	do	Haveri
55.	Bhimappa Ninbanna Tagadina-mani and 14 others	do	do
56.	Hariyappa Somappa Nayaka	do	do
57.	Hanumanna Lamani	do	do
58.	T. K. Rathod and 2 others	do	Yelivigi
59.	Chairman, Mysore State Banjara Seva Samaj	do	Hubli
60.	Chairman, Village Panchayat Committee	do	Adavi-Somapur
61.	H. D. Lamani, Shiggaon Taluk Banjara Seva Sangha	do	Shiggaon
62.	N. T. Chavan and 20 others	do	Hanagal
63.	Narayanappa Kerappa Chavan	do	do
64.	Nagappa Somappa Lamani	do	do
65.	Hobanna Fakirappa Badigera	do	do
66.	Bhojappa Kamappa Lamani	do	do
67.	Smt. Ahalyabai	do	Bhadravathi
68.	Secretary, Sri Valmiki Vidya-Seva Sangha	Beda	Bangalore
69.	Secretary-General, All India Nayak Sangha	do	do
70.	President, Bellary District Valmiki Nayaka Vidyabhivruddhi Sangha	do	Bellary

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
71.	Chairman, Valmiki Maharshi Adhyatmika Samithi	Beda	Hospet
72.	Chairman, Town Panchayat	do	Kudligi
73.	President, Akhila Karnataka Nayaka Jananga Dvitiya Sammelana	do	Davangere
74.	Mahalinga Nayaka and 15 others	do	Hiriyur
75.	P. Hanumanthappa and 16 others	do	Harihara
76.	K. Beerappa	do	do
77.	Secretay, Nayaka General Hostel Committee	do	Davanagere
78.	Patil Papa Nayak, M.L.A.,	do	Chitradurga
79.	C. Obaiiah, Lawyer	do	do
80.	Hanumanthappa Fakirappa Nayaka and 20 others	do	Ranebennur
81.	President, Valmiki Samaj	do	Haveri
82.	T. B. Talwar and 12 others	do	Ranebennur
83.	Dundappa Bhimappa Valmiki and 10 others	do	Shiggaon
84.	M. H. Kallur and 10 others	do	Mundargi
85.	Mariyappa Talwar	do	Hire-Betgeri
86.	M. Y. Hadimani	do	Shiggaon
87.	B. H. Veeranna and 8 others	do	do
88.	Puttappa Kariyappa Hanumatti	do	Haveri
89.	Basavannappa Bhimappa	do	Hangal
90.	Chikkanna	do	Holenarasipura
91.	B. Rangaswamy Nayak and 6 others	do	Hassan
92.	President, Hunsur Taluk Nayaka Sangha	do	Hunsur
93.	President, Kollegal Taluk Nayak Sangha	do	Kollegal
94.	B. Munivenkatappa Nayak	do	Mysore
95.	Hanumantha Nayak	do	Nanjangud
96.	Rama Nayak	do	Hunsur
97.	Shivananja Nayak	do	Mysore
98.	President, Nayaka Jananga Sangha	do	Nanjangud
99.	President, Nayaka Jananga Sangha	do	Chamarajanagara
100.	President, Nayaka Sarvajanika Vidyabhivrudhi Sangha	do	do
101.	Shivananjaiah	do	Kollegal
102.	N. Siddalinga Nayak	do	do
103.	Ranga Nayak	do	Gundlupet
104.	Racha Nayak	do	do
105.	Basava Nayak and 3 others	do	do
106.	S. Sanjeevaiah and 6 others	do	Mysore
107.	S. Sidda Nayak and 18 others	do	do
108.	Swamy Nayak and 50 others	do	H.D. Kote
109.	R. Ranga Nayak	do	Yelandur
110.	M. Chikka Nayak and 8 others	do	Kollegal
111.	Putta Nayak and 12 others	do	Mysore

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
112.	Puttamada and 22 others	Beda	T. Narsipura
113.	Sangappa and 8 others	do	Shimoga
114.	V. S. Thakur	Begadi	Hukkeri
115.	Ramakrishna Nayaka	Bhampta	Koppa
116.	S. S. Bhat and 8 others	Bhat	Hubli
117.	Chandappa Madappa Nedagundi and 3 others	do	do
118.	Ramesh Manek Gagati	do	Gadag-Betgeri
119.	D. Chikkagangappa	Bovi	Bangalore
120.	Thimma Bovi and 8 others	do	Chitradurga
121.	Hanumanthappa Poojari	do	do
122.	President, Bovi Samaja Seva Sangha	do	Sirsi
123.	M. Umesh Bovi	do	Karkala
124.	President, Bovi Mahajana Sangha	do	Someswara
125.	B. Mahadevaji	do	Mangaloro
126.	C. R. Vantumari	do	do
127.	President, Kanya Kubja Brahmins Community	Brahmin	Mysore
128.	H. V. Nagaraj	do	Bhadravathi
129.	Executive Committee Members Rajput Saraswat Brahmin Sangha (R)	do	Bhatkal
130.	Canara Koodala Deshastha Gowda Brahmin Vidya Prasa- raka Mandala (R)	Brahmin	Mangalore
131.	Rajapur Gowd Saraswat Brah- mins Samaj	do	Bombay
132.	Fakirappa	Budbudki	Hangal
133.	R. Yallaiah	do	Mandya
134.	President, Charodi Abhyudaya Sangha (R)	Charodi	Mangalore
135.	President, Charodi Yuvaka Sangha	do	Honnavaara
136.	President, Sri Sharada Samaja Mandaliya Acharayara Sangha (R), Charodi Samaj	do	Sagara
137.	Secretary, Mysore Pradesh Bhavasara Kshatriya Census Committee	Darzi	Bangalore
138.	Secretary, Bhavasara Kshatriya Mandali	do	Hiriyur
139.	Secretary Bhavasara Kshatriya Sangha	do	Harihara
140.	Secretary, Bhavasara Ksha- triya Vidyabhivruddhi Sangha	do	Chitradurga
141.	President, Mysore State Namadev Simpi Samaj	do	Davangere
148.	President, Bhavasara Kshatriya Samaja	do	Hubli
143.	R. Vittala Rao and 20 others	do	do

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
144.	President, Namadeva Dewaki Samaj	Darzi	Hubli
145.	Narayana Tukaram Najare	do	Ranebennur
146.	N. M. Ksheera Sagar, Namadev Simpi Samaj	do	Gadag-Betgeri
147.	T. S. Mahendrakar, Bhavasara Kshtriya Samaja	do	do
148.	Vaikunta and 3 others, Bhavasara Kshatriya Samaja	do	Dharwar
149.	R. N. Navale and 4 others Bhavasara Kshtriya Samaja,	do	Hangal
150.	General Secretary, Akhila Bharata Bhavasara Kshtriya Maha Sabha	do	Dharwar
151.	Secretary, Mysore Pradesh Bhavasara Kshtriya Youth Congress	do	Mandya
152.	President, Bhavasara Kshatriya Mandali	do	Chamarajanagar
153.	R. S. Raja Rao, Bhavasara Kshatriya Samaj	do	Mysore
154.	M. N. Somasekara Rao	do	Hunsur
155.	A Dandiga Dasar, Secretary, Dasar Community	Dandiga Dasar	Dharwar
156.	Bhojadas	Dasar	Udipi
157.	Ramaiah	do	Mysore
158.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Devadigara Sudharaka Sangha	Devadiga	Mangalore
159.	President, Devadigara Seva Sangha	do	Udipi
160.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Devadigara Sudharka Upa-Sangha	do	Coondapura
161.	M. Veerappa Moili, President, Devadigara Sudharaka Sangha	do	Moodabidri
162.	K. Seena Serigar, President, Devadigara Sudharaka Sangha	do	Karkala
163.	President, Devanga Sangha	Devanga	Bangalore
164.	N. Hanumanthaiah	do	Chitradurga
165.	C. K. Hanumanthappa	do	do
166.	President, Devanga Sangha	do	Gadag—Betageri
167.	K. F. Laxmeshwara and 20 others	do	Ranebennur
168.	President, Devanga Mahajana Sangha	do	Kollegal
169.	President, Devanga Sangha	do	Chamarajanagar
170.	S. K. Lakshminarasimhaiah, Advocate	do	Mysore
171.	President, Akhila Karnataka Dhor Samaj	Dhor	Bangalore
172.	A. G. Hongal	Dombar	Bailhongal

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
173.	Hanumanthappa Fakirappa	Dombar	Ranebennur
174.	Secretary, Mysore State Dombi Dasara Kalyana Abhivruddhi Sangha	Dombidasa	Bangalore
175.	P. Shanmugam	Dravidian	Hubli
176.	Yellappa Nagappa and 9 others	Durga-Murgi	Dharwar
177.	President, Akhila Karnataka Ganigara Sangha	Ganiga	Bangalore
178.	S. G. Kallappa Shetty	do	Chickmagalur
179.	S. K. Ranga Shetty and 7 others	do	Somawarpet
180.	L. G. Kembhavi	Kari Ganiga	Gulbarga
181.	President, Hassan Jilla Ganigara Sangha	Ganiga	Hassan
182.	President, Mandya Jilla Ganigara Sangha	do	Mandya
183.	President, Mysore Jilla Ganigara Sangha	do	Mysore
184.	Secretary, Shivajyothippanada Yuvakara Sangha	do	Chamarajanagara
185.	President, Chamarajanagar Taluk Ganiga Jananga Sangha	do	do do
186.	President, Joythipana Ganigara Sangha	do	Hampapura
187.	Appa Shetty	do	Periyapatna
188.	Putta Shetty	do	do
189.	N. K. Yella Shetty and 2 others	do	H.D. Kote
190.	Mada Shetty and 8 others	do	T. Narasipura
191.	R. Mada Shetty	do	Nanjangud
192.	N. Nanjunda Shetty and 83 others	do	do
193.	Srinivasa Shetty and 15 others	do	Nattavadi
194.	Narayana Shetty and 17 others	do	Suttur
195.	Ranga Shetty and 17 others	do	Biligiri
196.	Venkata Shetty and 6 others	do	Nanjangud
197.	Mada Shetty and 20 others	do	do
198.	Putta Shetty and 15 others	do	Badanavalu
199.	Bella Shetty and 46 others	do	Devanur
200.	Gopa Shetty and 18 others	do	Gundlupet
201.	Eera Shetty	do	Periyapatna
202.	Venkatarama Shetty	do	T. Narasipura
203.	C. K. Thimmaiah Shetty and 4 others	do	Periyapatna
204.	Kala Shetty and 5 others	do	Hemmige

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
205.	Sanna Shetty and 11 others	Ganiga	Poonadahalli
206.	Thammaiah Shetty and 4 others	do	Periyapatna
207.	Secretary, Somakshatriya Samaja	do	Udipi
208.	President, Dakshina Kannada Ganigara Sangha	do	Mangalore
209.	N. G. Shetty	do	Kumta
210.	H. M. Munivenkataramana, Advocate	Gangakula	Bangalore
211.	Secretary, Hyderabad-Karnataka Cooly Samaja, (Kabbaliga)	Kabbaliga	Bidar
212.	Secretary, Gangamatha Yuva- jana Seva Sangha	Gargakula	Chitradurga
213.	Secretary, Davanagere Taluk Gangamatha Sangha	do	Davanagere
214.	President, Chitradurga Jilla Gangamatha (Bestha) Sangha	do	do
215.	President, Gangamatha Yuva- jana Seva Sangha	do	do
216.	President, Chitradurga Jilla Gangamathasthara Sangha	do	Chitradurga
217.	G. G. Shivanna	do	Hiriyur
218.	President, Gangamatha Sangha	do	Dharwar
219.	Kotrappa Basappa Hiriganna	do	Ranebennur
220.	B. N. Tuntana Hosahalli and 56 others	do	Hangal
221.	Ramappa G. Barker and 57 others	do	Savanur
222.	N. R. Poojara and 10 others	do	Gadag
223.	Sharanappa Olegar	do	Byadgi
224.	Channabasappa Barker and 3 others	do	Shiggaoon
225.	S. Dhulappa Kattimani	do	Gulbarga
226.	Venkatappa and 25 others	Bestha	Holenarasipura
227.	Kalaiah and 39 others	Gangakula	Hassan
228.	Mylaraiah and 8 others	Bestha	Maddur
229.	Basavanayaka and 20 others	Gangamatha	Kollegal
230.	President, Mysore Jilla Ganga- mathasthara Sangha	do	Mysore
231.	President, Mysore State Ganga- matha Vidyabhivrudhi Sangha	do	do
232.	K. Nanjundaiah	do	T. Narasipur
233.	D. S. Mahadevaiah	do	Kollegal
233A.	S. M. Vaidya	Mogaveera	Sirsi
234.	Secretary, Karwar Meenugara Seva Samithi	Harikantha	North Kanara
235.	C. D. Ganganna and 3 others	Besthar	Bhadravathi
236.	President, Akhila Karnataka Bunde Besthar Sangha	do	Shimoga
237.	Guddappa and another	do	do
238.	Annaiah and 40 others	do	Coondapur

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
239.	General Secretary, Dakshina Kaunda Jilla Mogaveera Mahajan Sangha	Mogaveera	Uchila
240.	Mrs. Winnifred Fernandes, M.L.A.,	Konkana-Kharvi	Coondapura
241.	President, Konkana Kharvi Meenugara Sangha	do	do
242.	Secretary, Poladevara Yane Gatti Seva Sangha	Gatti	Someswara
243.	Shivappa	do	Mangalore
244.	R. V. Gavadi	Gavadi	Kumta
245.	K. P. Kademani and 4 others	Ghantichor	Dharwar
246.	Yellappa Bhimappa Gattawadi	Girani Voddar	Hubli
247.	Koppadalappa Bhimappa and 23 others	do	Gadag
248.	Editor, People's Guard	Golla	Bangalore
249.	President, Akhila Karnataka Gollara Sangha	do	do
250.	S. Narayanaswamy and another	do	do
251.	President, Chitradurga Jilla Gollara Sangha	do	Chitradurga
252.	N. Govindappa and 15 others	do	do
253.	B. Dasappa and 4 others	do	Hiriyur
254.	G. H. Hosamani	do	Haveri
255.	Guruvappa Gollar and 3 others	do	Hangal
256.	Fakirappa Yellappa Beleri and 28 others	do	Ranebennur
257.	Secretary, Nomadic Tribes Co-operative Housing Society	Krishna Golla	Dharwar
258.	President, Hassan Jilla Golla Sangha	Golla	Hassan
259.	B. V. Narayan and 57 others	do	Holenarsipura
260.	M. Muniraju	do	Kolar
261.	V. A. Ramegowda	do	K. R. Nagar
262.	President, Mysore Jilla Golla Sangha	do	Mysore
263.	H. Govindappa Yadav	do	Raichur
264.	G. S. Kattimani	do	Marvi
265.	Hon. Secretary, Yadava Sangha	do	Raichur
266.	President, Dakshina Kannada Yadava Sangha	do	Mangalore
267.	D. Kariyappa	do	Tumkur
268.	R. D. Joshi and 3 others	Gondhali	Ramdurg
269.	President, Badami Taluk Gondali Samaja Sangha	do	Bijapur
270.	President, Gondali Samaja Taruna Sangha	do	do
271.	Secretary, Chitradurga Jilla Gondali Maratha Samaja Sangha	do	Chitradurga
272.	Secretary, Akhila Karnataka Gondali Samaja	do	Hubli

Sl. No.	Names of Individuals/ Organisations	Community	Place
273.	President, Akhila Karnataka Hindulida Gondali Samaja Seva Sangha	Gondhali	Dharwar
274.	President, Shimoga District Gondali Maratha Samaja Sangha	do	Shimoga
275.	Secretary, Yaga Kshatriya Sadu Shetty Sangha	Goniga	Shimoga
276.	F. G. Dharmappa	Goptheyaru	Shimoga
277.	Raghunatha Giri	Gosavi	Bidar
278.	Vice-President, Akhila Bharata Veerashiva Gowliparishat	Gowli	Gulbarga
279.	Gynappa Baguji Biarwadi	do	Gadag-Betgeri
280.	Babu and 7 others	do	Bhadravathi
281.	President, Shimoga District Kache Gowligara Sangha	do	Shimoga
282.	B. V. Naik, M.P.,	Gramavokkal	Kumta
283.	President, Gramavokkala Samaja Abhivruddhi Sangha	do	do
284.	F. Venkataramana	do	Karwar
285.	Shivanagowda	do	Kumta
286.	Dola Era Gunagi and 13 others	Gunagi	Karwar
287.	H. A. Gurav	Gurav	Belgaum
288.	President, Hallikara Sangha	Hallikara	Bangalore
289.	K. M. Rangappa	do	Mysore
290.	N. N. Khot	Hanabar	Belgaum
291.	President, Hanabara Samajonnathi Samstha	do	Nippani
292.	Fakkirappa Shivappa Hanumara	Hanumara	Gadag
293.	Yengappa Thammanna Chayan	Haranashikari	Bijapur
294.	P. L. Pavadi	Hatagara	Hubli
295.	P. Seetharama Hegde and 11 others	Hegde	Mangalore
296.	Secretary, Mysore Helava Samaja Hithabhivruddhi Sangha	Helava	Birur
297.	M. B. Hulagannavar	do	Haveri
298.	Venkataiah and 20 others	do	T. Narasipura
299.	Secretary, Mysore Helava Samaja	do	Channagiri
300.	F. N. Hugar, Advocate	Hugar	Dharwar
301.	B. Lakshmana	Huvadiga	Chickmagalur
302.	President, Mysore Pradesh Arya Idigara Sangha	Idiga	Bangalore
303.	L. S. Swamy and 6 others	do	Devanahalli
304.	K. P. Lakshmaiah and 32 others	do	Chitradurga
305.	Ranganna and 4 others	do	Hiriyur
306.	K. V. Prasad	Billava	Gonikoppa
307.	Chinnappa	do	Virajpet
308.	Krishnappa Kolal	Yaligar	Dharwar

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
309.	J. B. Hanagal and 18 others	Idiga	Shiggaon
310.	P. V. Krishnappa, M.L.A.,	do	Channarayana
311.	Sannaswamy Gowda and 26 others	do	Arkalgud
312.	Siddappa and 32 others	do	Holenarsipura
313.	E. Bogiraju	do	Gowribidanur
314.	G. Sampangiramaiah	do	Oorgaumpet
315.	C. M. Nagaraju and 13 others	do	Mandya
316.	H. K. Ramachandraiah and 2 others	do	Malavalli
317.	M. Gopala and 7 others	do	Pandavapura
318.	Puttaraje Gowda and 8 others	do	H.D. Kote
319.	Secretary, Arya Idigara Sangha	do	Periyapatna
320.	S. M. Ramegowda and 13 others	do	do
321.	N. T. Sundaradas	Namadhari Gowda	H.D. Kote
322.	K. B. Ramaswamy	do	K. R. Nagara
323.	Eregowda and 6 others	do	Hunsur
324.	Puttaswamy and 12 others	do	Yelandur
325.	Varadaraj and 9 others	Idiga	Kollegal
326.	P. H. Naik	do	Kumta
327.	M. R. Naik	Namadhari	Bhatkal
328.	Convenor, Deever's Samaja Sudharaka Samithi	Deever	Siddapura
329.	Vice-President, Namadhari Abhivrudhi Sangha	Namadhari	Honnavaara
330.	Narayana Bommanayaka and 17 others	Idiga	Siddapura
331.	Convenor, Deever's Samaja Sudharaka Samithi	Deever	Shimoga
332.	H. Rama Pujari and 26 others	Billava	Coondapura
333.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Billava Samaja	do	Brahmavara
334.	President, Malayali-Billava Sangha	Malayali-Billava	Mangalore
335.	Secretary, Billava Union	Billava	Mangalore
336.	Thapas Kumar and 3 others	do	Karkala
337.	Secretary, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Billava Samaja	do	Mangalore
338.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Billava Samaja	do	Haleyangadi
339.	Secretary, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Billava Samaja	do	Moodubidri
340.	Secretary, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Billava Samaja	do	Karkala
342.	Secretary, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Billava Samaja	do	Kapu
343.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Billava Samaja	do	Bantwal

Sl. No.	Names of Individuals / Organisations	Community	Place
344.	Secretary, Sri Bhagavathi Thiya Samaj	Thiya	Kalyanipura
345.	T. Thimmappa and 4 others	Idiga	Tumkur
346.	Lingappa Dhurnappa Desai and 4 others	Jadar	Akki-Alur
347.	Dodda Imamsab and 2 others	Jatigera	Haveri
348.	C.R.H. Jetty	Jatty	Bangalore
349.	H. R. Prakash	do	do
350.	C. M. Narasimha Jetty	do	Chitradurga
351.	L. Rama Jetty	do	Mysore
352.	Secretary, Sagar Jogi Community	Jogi	Shimoga
353.	M. Y. Gopal	do	Mangalore
354.	B. E. Kuppu Rao and 60 others	Kalal	Bangalore
	Suryavamsha Kshatriya Samaja		
355.	K. Viroji Rao and 33 others	do	Hospet
356.	A. Venkata Rao	do	Bellary
357.	N. R. Kalal	do	Bijapur
358.	J. Rangoji Rao	do	Chitradurga
359.	Siddoji Rao	do	do
360.	Seshappa D. Kalal	do	Dharwar
361.	Dr. M. N. Kalal	do	Ranebennur
362.	G. H. Kalal	do	Dharwar
363.	Dadaram Kalal and 15 others	do	do
364.	Lakshman Doddahanumanthappa Kalal	do	Ranebennur
365.	Maruthi Rao Kalal	do	do
366.	Ramanna Jamalappa Kalal	do	do
367.	President, Kalal Samaj	do	Hangal
368.	Rudrappa Kalal	do	Ranebennur
369.	T. P. Kalal President, (Lada-Vamsha) Kalal Samaj	do	Dharwar
370.	Mahendra Kalal	do	Shiggaon
371.	Y. H. Kalal	do	Dharwar
372.	President, Kalal Samaj	do	Hubli
373.	C. Krishnoji Rao	do	Mysore
374.	Bhimanna Chandukar	do	Shimoga
375.	President, Kamati Samaja	Kamati	Hangal
376.	Basappa Sanjivappa and 2 others	Kanchi-Korava	Shiggaon
377.	President, Kaniyar Seva Samaj	Kaniyar	Bangalore
378.	President, Kaniyar Seva Sangha	do	Yelandur
379.	President, Kaniyar Seva Samaj	do	Mysore
380.	H. Chinnaaswamy	do	do
381.	President Mysore Karunika Sangha	Karuneeeka	Bangalore
382.	V. S. Shindhe	Khilari	Bijapur
383.	President, Kodagu Gowda Vidya Sangha	Kodagu Gowda	Mercara
384.	President, Sri Sharada Sabha Mandaliya Konkani Acharya Sabha	Konkani Acharya	Sagar
385.	S. G. Sitaramajah	do	do
386.	President, Korava Samaja Hita-varadaka Sangha	Korava	Hubli

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
387.	Bhimappa Kariyappa	Korava	Hangal
388.	K. R. Prasadiyavar	do	Dharwar
389.	S. K. Koravar	do	do
390.	President, Korama Shettara Welfare Association	do	Bangalore
391.	Mariyappa Koravar	do	Shiggaon
392.	Thimma Shetty	do	Hassan
393.	President, Rama Kshatriya Seva Sangha	Koteyar (Rama-kshatriya)	Bangalore
394.	President, Rama Kshatriya Sangha	do	Coondapura
395.	President, Dakshina Kannada Kudabi Samaja	Kudabi	Mangalore
396.	President, Kumara Kshatriya Seva Sangha	Kumara Kshatriya	Mangalore
397.	President, Kumarapanth Samajonnathi Sangha	Kumarapanth	Kumta
398.	President, Kumbara Sangha (R)	Kumbara	Bangalore
399.	Sundar Raj	do	do
400.	K. Rudrappa	do	Davanagere
401.	Byrappa Yellappa Kumbara	do	Dharwar
402.	Narasimhaiah Hangal	do	do
403.	Venkataswamy Shetty	do	Hassan
404.	President, Kolar District Kumbara Sangha	do	Kolar
405.	Puttaswamy, Kulalagunda Brahmaraya Sangha	do	Mysore
406.	K. Krishnamurthy	Kumbara	H.D. Kote
407.	Yajaman Mallashetty	do	Chamarajanagara
408.	Subbaiah Shetty	do	Kollegal
409.	Mada Shetty	do	Chamarajanagara
410.	Javana Shetty	do	Gundlupet
411.	H. R. Sanjeeva Shetty	do	Periyapatna
412.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Moolyara Yane Kulala Sangha	do	Mangalore
413.	K. Bhujanga	do	do
414.	Secretary, S.K. District Moolyara Yane Kulala Sangha	do	do
415.	General Secretary, Mysore Pradesh Kurubara Sangha	Kuruba	Bangalore
416.	P. Veeranna and 3 others	do	Shiraguppa
417.	P. B. Ramaiah and 4 others	do	Bellary
418.	T. Thippeswamy	do	Lokikere
419.	Secretary, Kuruba Seva Sangha	do	Bidar
420.	Gundappa Kalagi and 20 others	do	Humnabad
421.	Marathi and 10 others	do	Kabirwadi
422.	Kollappa	do	Bidar
423.	Secretary, Bhalki Taluka Kuruba Jananga	do	Bhalki

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
424.	Siddaiah and 34 others	Kuruba	Belagi
425.	Secretary, Kanakadas Kurubara Sangha	do	Dadagi
426.	M. S. Haliyar and 20 others	do	Muddebihal
427.	Secretary, Kurubara Sangha	do	do
428.	B. B. Patil	do	Indi
429.	T. Nagappa and 4 others	do	Chitradurga
430.	H. Ranganatha and 6 others	do	Hiriyur
431.	Secretary, Kurubara Sangha	do	Chitradurga
432.	Rudrappa and 50 others	do	Davanagere
433.	Secretary, Kondanahalli Kurubara Sangha	do	Molakalmuru
434.	Secretary, Virajpet Kurubara Jananga	do	Virajpet
435.	M. S. Karjor	do	Ranebennur
436.	Ranebennur Kuruba Samaja	do	do
437.	M. M. Karur	do	do
438.	B. N. Bijur	do	Savanur
439.	Secretary, Bankapura Kurubara Samaja	do	Bankapura
440.	Chairman, Kurubara Sangha	do	Gadag
441.	D. S. Abbigeri	do	Dharwar
442.	Secretary, Kurubar Student's Association	do	Gulbarga
443.	Malage Gowda and 8 others	do	Holenarsipura
444.	A. Puttaiah and 100 others	do	Arakalagud
445.	Secretary, Kurubara Sangha	do	Hassan
446.	Secretary Chamarajanagara Kurubara Sangha	do	Chamarajanagara
447.	President, Kurubara Sangha	do	H.D. Kote
448.	President, Kurubara Sangha	do	K.R. Nagara
449.	President, Beereswara Kurubara Sangha	do	Gundlupet
450.	Javaregowda and 50 others	do	Narjangud
451.	C. Channabasavegowda and 12 others	do	Aggipura
452.	Huchhegowda and 50 others	do	Channalingana-halli
453.	Rajegowda and 7 others	do	Kollegal
454.	Kallamadaiah and 20 others	do	T. Narasipura
455.	Hanumegowda and 8 others	do	Manvi
456.	Lingappa Dhotarbandi	do	Rampura
457.	Mukaiah and 2 others	do	Deodurg
458.	Shivappa and 7 others	do	Lingasugur

Sl. No.	Names of Individuals/ Organisations	Community	Place
459.	S. B. Bhimaiah and 3 others	Kumbar	Sindhannur
460.	Secretary, Kshatriya (Lada) Sangha	Ladavamsha	Mysore
461.	President, Mysore State Veerashaiva Association	Lingayath	Bangalore
462.	Shivanagowda Basanagowda Patil	do	Hangal
463.	Rachappa Gubbi	do	Gubbi
464.	President, Karnataka Shuddha Shaiva Sevarchaka Sangha	do	T. Narasipura do
465.	President, Malava Kshatriya Abhyudaya Sangha	Malava	Mangalore
466.	President, Karnataka Rajyada Maleru Vargada Sangha	Maleru	Shimoga
467.	Secretary, Maratha Vidya Prasarak Mandali	Maratha	Bangalore
468.	President, Shivaji Social and Educational Welfare Association	do	do
469.	President, Anjaneyaswamy Maratha Mandali	do	do
470.	President, Maratha Vidya Vardhaka Sangha	do	Chitradurga
471.	President, Maratha Sangha	do	do
472.	Secretary, Maratha Vidya Vardhaka Sangha	do	Dharwar
473.	Hanumanthappa Lakshmappa Jadav	do	Ranebennur
474.	President, Maratha Samaj	do	Hubli
475.	Dr. A. K. Kale, Maratha Vidya Prasarak Mandala	do	Dharwar
476.	D. B. Jangali	do	Ranebennur
477.	President, Mysore City Shiva Chatrapathi Co-operative Society	do	Mysore
478.	Durga Honnappa Naik	do	Yellapur
479.	President, Adi Maratha Kshatriya Sangha	do	Attavar
480.	President, Mysore State Medara Welfare Association	Meda	Bangalore
481.	President, Mysore Seemeya Sri Kyatheeshwara Medara Janara Sangha	do	Bangalore do
482.	S. V. Ramachandrappa	do	do
483.	Basappa Medar and 8 others	do	Saundatti
484.	Bhimappa Yellappa Bogur	do	Kittur
485.	Ningappa Yellappa Paragad	do	Belgaum
486.	President, Bellary District Medar Sangha	do	Bellary
487.	Chairman, Bellary Bamboo Workers Union	do	Bellary
488.	M. B. Mallappa and 4 others	do	do
489.	Kalappa Medar	do	Kamlapur
490.	M. Yamunappa	do	Bellary
491.	Jambanna	do	Hospet
492.	Hoolappa Medar	do	Kudligi
493.	Sharanappa Barud	do	Bidar

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals / Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
494.	Bhimappa Hanumanthappa Sindhagi	Meda	Guledgudda
495.	Bhimappa Ramappa Medar	do	Rabakavi
496.	Bhimappa Lakshmappa Budar	do	Murnal
497.	Siddappa Singhdappa Medar	do	Mahalingapura
498.	S. S. Borad	do	Mudhol
499.	Basappa Malappa Burad	do	do
500.	Vithal Medar	do	Mahalingapura
501.	R. V. Budar	do	Bagalkot
502.	Nagappa Yellappa Medar	do	Kamatgi
503.	Ankappa Medar	do	Chickmagalur
504.	T. D. Moodlappa	do	Tarikere
505.	Secretary, Medar Samaja Bandhvaru	do	Malebennur
506.	Dasappa Medar	do	Hiriyur
507.	T. Ganganna	do	Chitradurga
508.	Ramadasappa Medar	do	do
509.	M. Kadirappa	do	Challakere
510.	Kumarappa Medar	do	Harihara
511.	Durgappa Medar	do	Davanagere
512.	Chairman, Dharwar District Oudyogika Mattu Vyapari Sahakari Sangha	do	Hubli
513.	Basappa Gangappa Mangalagatti	do	do
514.	Balakrishna Medar	do	Dharwar
515.	S. G. Garag	do	Hubli
516.	Karibasappa Medar	do	Ranobennur
517.	Ramappa Medar	do	Haveri
518.	Siddappa Medar	do	Naragund
519.	Channabasappa Jamkhandi	do	Jeratgi
520.	Medar Samaja Bandhavaru	do	Jewargi
521.	President, Karnataka State Medar Sangha	do	Gulbarga
522.	Honnappa Choudhari	do	do
523.	Chikkanna	do	Hassan
524.	S. M. Kuppuswamy	do	Belur
525.	Papaiah and 2 others	do	Channarayapatana
526.	S. B. Padma and 5 others	do	Arakalgud
527.	Bhimappa Medar	do	Chintamani
528.	P. Rangaswamy	do	Malur
529.	Venkatarayappa	do	Sidlaghatta
530.	B. Ramaiah and 3 others	do	Chickballapur
531.	Secretary, Srirangapatna Medar Samaj	do	Srirangapatna
532.	G. Muniyappa	do	Mysore
533.	Gopaiah	do	do
534.	Rajashetty and 2 others	do	Chamarajanagara
535.	A. Aiumanna	do	Sirsi
536.	Krishnamurthy	do	Siddapura
537.	Yamunappa	do	Sindhanur
538.	Raichur Medar Samaja Bandhavaru	do	Raichur
539.	Y. Ramappa	do	Sagar
540.	Chowdappa	do	Shimoga
541.	Balaiah	do	Bhadravathi

Sl. No.	Names of Individuals/ Organisations	Community	Place
542.	Mangalore Medar Samaja Bandha- varu	Meda	Mangalore
543.	Subbanna	do	Sira
544.	Narasimhaiah	do	Madhugiri
545.	Hanumanthaiah	do	Tumkur
546.	K. S. Somalingaiah	do	Kyatasandra
547.	N. Mallaiah	do	Madhugiri
548.	Tirukappa Fakirappa Mandar	Mondar	Hangal
549.	Hamunappa Polappa	do	Ranebennur
550.	President, Nagartha Community Welfare Centre	Nagartha	Bangalore
551.	Secretary, Ayodhyanagarada Shivachara Vyshya Vidyavar- dhaka Sangha	do	do
552.	Secretary, Working Committee Karnataka Nathapanthi Shaiva Sangha	Nathapanthi	do
553.	President, Akhila Karnataka Bhajanthri Yuvaka Sangha	Nayinda	do
554.	Secretary, Akhila Mysore Sam- sthanada Bhajantri Kshemabhi- vrudhi Samithi	do	do
555.	B. Ramachandrappa	do	do
556.	President, Mysore State Savitha Samaj	do	do
557.	Kalappa	do	Chitradurga
558.	President, Bhajantri Arya Seva Samaja	do	do
559.	Secretary, Kadur Bhajantri Seva Sangha	do	Kadur
560.	President, Nabik Samaja Sudha- raka Sangha	do	Dharwar
561.	S. D. Korawar	do	Haveri
562.	President, Lingavant (Kayakada) Samaja	do	Dharwar
563.	President, Nayinda Samaja	do	Hubli
564.	Chairman, Navi-Kshatriya Sangha	do	do
565.	D. K. Katkar, Arya Kshourika Samaj	do	Hangal
566.	Secretary, Navika Samaj	do	Gulbarga
567.	R. Venkatachalaiah	do	Sakleshpur
568.	Secretary, Ayra-Navika Ksha- triya Sangha	do	Hassan
569.	Secretary, Arya-Navika Ksha- triya Jananga	do	do
570.	President, Hassan Hair dressers Association	do	Hassan
571.	President, Bhajantri Seva Samithi	do	Mandya
572.	Sidda Shetty	do	Madhuvanahalli
573.	Ramachandra	do	K. R. Nagara
574.	M. Chikkanna	do	Chamarajanagara
575.	Channasiddaveeraiah	do	Mysore
576.	President, Akhila Mysore Sam- sthanada Savitha Samaj	do	do
577.	Madhukara Babu and 2 others	do	Dandeli

Sl. No.	Names of Individuals/ Organisations	Community	Place
578.	President, Kshourika Sudharaka Sangha	Nayinda	Karkala
579.	President, Kshourika Sudharaka Sangha	do	Mangalore
580.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Bhandari Sudharaka Sangha	do	Udipi
581.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Pariyal Samaj	do	do
582.	President, Bhandari Shikshana Samithi	do	Coondapura
583.	U. P. Suvarna	do	Mangalore
584.	Gopalakrishna	do	Udipi
585.	Secretary, Swakulasali Samaj	Neygi	Bangalore
586.	Secretary, Mysore Padmasale Sangha	do	do
587.	Secretary, Gajanana Pattasale Sangha	do	do
588.	President, Kuruhinasetty Sangha	do	do
589.	Krishnoji Rao	do	Bellary
590.	President, Swakulsali Samaj	do	do
591.	President, Neelagar Gnati Samatha	do	Bidar
592.	President, Swakulsali Samaj	do	do
593.	President, Padmasale Samaj Seva Sangha	do	Harihara
593A.	B. V. Ramanna, Kuruhina-shetty Association South Coorg	do	Virajpet
594.	President, Swakulsali Samaj	do	Molakalmuru
595.	Onkarappa Kamble	do	Davanagere
596.	P. Teerthappa	do	Harihara
597.	President, Karnatak Swakulasali Vidyavardhaka Sangha	do	Hubli
598.	Somanathappa	do	Gadag-Betgeri
599.	Secretary, Mysore State Padmasale (Neykar)	do	Ranebennur
600.	Lokappa Poojari	do	Hubli
601.	President, Pattasale Samaj	do	Ranebennur
602.	H. H. Jagadguru Mummadi Sri Neelakantha Pattadarya Mahaswamigal	do	Gadag-Betgeri
603.	President, Swakulsali Samaj	do	Surpur
604.	Mallikarjunarao	do	Alland
605.	Secretary, Ramasahaya Neygi Co-operative Society Ltd.,	do	Hassan
606.	President, Dakshina Kannada Jilla Padmasale Sangha	do	Mangalore
607.	President, Togataveera Samaj	do	Bangalore
608.	A Najundappa and 4 others	do	Hirehalli
609.	D. Gangappa and 4 others	do	Devanahalli
610.	M. Krishnappa and 5 others	do	Harohalli
611.	Sir Krishnappa and 3 others	do	Hosakote
612.	Munishamappa	do	Anekal
613.	V. Rayanappa and 2 others	do	Krishnarajapuram
614.	Secretary, Thogataveera Samaj	do	Saundathi
615.	B. B. Jadar and 3 others	do	Belgaum

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisation</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
616.	Pandappa Berur and 2 others	Neygi	Sureban
617.	S. G. Chintal	do	Kittur
618.	Yankappa Sanjeevappa Hosamani	do	Ramdurg
619.	M. Gangappa and 6 others	do	Harapanahalli
620.	Secretary, Thogataveera Samaja	do	Ilakal
621.	B. A. Alur and 4 others	do	Guledgudda
622.	President, Thogataveera Samaja	do	Davanagere
623.	Ramanna	do	Singapura
624.	Patel Palaiiah	do	Chitradurga
625.	S. C. Nimbalagundi	do	Ron
626.	President, Thogataveera Samaj	do	Dharwar
627.	K. V. Pujar	do	Haveri
628.	V. S. Chinta	do	Ranebennur
629.	R. F. Narthi	do	Gudigeri
630.	L. B. Thogataveera	do	Byadgi
631.	B. H. Agadi	do	Haveri
632.	Narayana Nagappa Deshetti	do	Navalgund
633.	President, Thogataveera Samaj	do	Gadag-Betgeri
634.	President, Thogataveera Samaj	do	Hosaritti
635.	President, Thogataveera Samaj	do	Hubli
636.	President, Yadgiri Taluk Thogataveera Samaj	do	Yadgiri
637.	Ningajiah Lakshmipura	do	Surapura
637A.	Subbanna Pujari	do	Arasikere
638.	N. Munishamappa and 4 others	do	Sidlaghatta
639.	S. Chowdappa	do	Chintamani
640.	A. Dasappa and 6 others	do	Kolar
641.	Narayanappa and 4 others	do	Doddaballapura
642.	N. Venkatanarayanappa	do	Nagamangala
643.	K. C. Ramakrishna	do	Mandya
644.	T. Krishnachetty and 250 others	do	H.D. Kote
645.	President, Thogataveera Samaja	do	Kushtagi
646.	S. N. Ramaiah and 5 others	do	Raichur
647.	President, Thogataveera Kshatriya Sangha	do	Manvi
648.	Rangappa and 3 others	do	Channagiri
649.	Muddappa and others	do	Muddenahalli
650.	D. A. Honnappa and 6 others	do	Turuvekere
651.	Muddaiah and 4 others	do	Tiptur
652.	Dasappa and 3 others	do	Gubbi
653.	N. D. Sundardas	Odiga	H.D. Kote
654.	Venkataramana	Padarathi	Bangalore
655.	M. N. Govkar, Padathi Samaja	Padathi	Karwar
656.	P. R. Ramadas Naidu	Palayekari	Srinivasapura
657.	N. R. Krishnaswamy	Pillai	Bangalore
658.	B. Thimmanna, Pombad Samaja	Pombad	Udipi
659.	Prof. K. D. Basava	Pattegar	Hubli
660.	President, Somavamsha Sahasrarjuna Kshatriya Sangha	do	Bangalore
661.	President, Somavamsha Sahasrarjuna Kshatriya Sangha	do	Davanagere
662.	President, Somavamsha Sahasrarjuna Kshatriya Sangha	do	Gadag-Betgeri

Sl. No.	Names of Individuals/ Organisations	Community	Place
663.	President, Thakurvilas Rajput Mahasabha	Rajput	Bangalore
664.	K. T. Hajeri	do	Belgaum
665.	President, Kshatriya Rajput Samaj	do	Bidar
666.	Secretary, Bijapura Jilla Rajput Samaj	do	Bijapur
667.	Fakirsingha Narasingh Rajput	do	Hangal
668.	Chairman, Rajput Samaj	do	Shiggaon
669.	President, Kanuj Brahmin Rajput Samaja Taruna Sangha	do	Bankapura
670.	General Secretary, Rajput Samaja	do	Hubli
671.	V. V. Rajput	do	Haveri
672.	D. Gangaraju	do	Siddaganga
673.	S. G. Raval, Akhila Karnataka Ravala Samaja	Raval	Dharwar
674.	C. V. Venkata Rawath	Raya Rawath	Bangalore
675.	President, Rawat Samaj	Raya Rawath	H.D. Kote
676.	Secretary, Sadara Vidyabhivrudhi Sangha	Sadar	Bangalore
677.	President, Chatada Sreevaishnava Association	Satani	do
678.	President, Vaikyana Mandali	do	do
679.	Secretary, Sreevaishnava Yuvaka Sangha	do	Hassan
680.	Secretary, Sreevaishnava Vidya-bhivrudhi Sangha	do	Holenarasipur
681.	President, Hindulidavara Samskriti Kendra	Sikkaliga	Gadag-Betageri
682.	H. R. Srinivasamurthy	Somavamsha Arya Kshatriya (Chitragara)	Bangalore
683.	B. H. Gopalappa and 4 others	do	Shimoga
684.	President, Somavamsha Arya Kshatriya Sangha	do	do
685.	Secretary, Sowrashtra Association	Sourashtra	Bangalore
686.	Chairman, Sudugadusiddara Association	Sudugadusidda	Belgaum
687.	Chairman, Sudugadusiddara Association	do	Basavana Bage-wadi
688.	R. P. Krishnamurthy	do	Tarikere
689.	S. R. Vibhuti	do	Ranebennur
690.	I. S. Gundapalli	do	Hirekerur
691.	President, Agnivamsha Kshatriya Vidyabhivrudhi Sangha	Thigala	Bangalore
692.	President, Mysore Shambhukula Kshatriya Sangha	do	do
693.	President, Karnataka Vahnikula Kshatriya Sangha	do	do
694.	President, Agnivamsha Kshatriya Vidyabhivrudhi Sangha	do	Gubbi
695.	President, Uppara Sangha	Uppara	Bangalore
696.	President, Uppara Sangha	do	Belgaum

Sl. No.	Names of Individuals/ Organisations	Community	Place
697.	President, Gokak Taluk Oudyo- gika Co-op. Association	Uppara	do
698.	B. R. Yambatnal	do	Bijapur
699.	President, Dharwar District Uppara Seva Sangha	do	Dharwar
700.	Panduranga Bommaiah Naik	do	Ankola
701.	Secretary, Melusakkare Shettara Sangha	do	Chamarajanagara
702.	President, Gold and Silver Smith's Association	Viswakarma	Bangalore
703.	President, Bangalore City Viswa- karma Sammelana	do	do
704.	President, Viswakarma Welfare Association	do	do
705.	President, Kalikamba Viswa- karma Vivida Kala Mahila Samaj	do	do
706.	President, Viswakarma Samaja Seva Sangha	do	Athani
707.	President, Viswakarma Akkasale Sangha	do	Chitradurga
708.	Shivamurtheppa Kuberappa	do	Ranebennur
709.	Chairman, Viswakarma Sahakari Sangha	do	Ranebennur
710.	Erappa Rudrappa	do	Shiggaon
711.	President, Viswakarma Samaja	do	Hubli
712.	President, Hassan District Viswa- karma Sahakari Sangha	do	Hassan
713.	K. P. Parvathachari	do	do
714.	President, Viswakarma Vidya- vardhaka Sangha	do	Mysore
715.	Thimmachary and 2 others	do	Mandya
716.	President, Daivajna Samaja	do	Dandeli
717.	President, Daivajna Brahmana Association	do	Shimoga
718.	President, Viswakarma Sama- joddharaka Sangha	do	Karkala
719.	Ramachandra Shetty and others	do	Coondapura
720.	President, Daivajna Welfare Centre	do	do
721.	S. P. Shamachar	do	Tumkur
722.	President, Voddar Samaj	Voddar	Hangal
723.	G. T. Voddar	do	Gadag
724.	Hanumanthappa Voddar	do	Hangal
725.	H. H. Gunjal	do	Haveri
726.	President, Vokkaligara Sangha	Vokkaliga	Bangalore
727.	President, Kolaga Seva Samaja	do	do
728.	Narasgowda	do	Kadur
729.	D. Shambhugowda	do	Mysore
730.	Sannamane Ramappa	do	Sagar
731.	President, Gowda Vidya Sangha	do	Sulya
732.	President, Akhila Mysore Arya Vyshya Mahasabha	Vyshya	Bangalore
733.	M. V. Soorachari	General	do
734.	Chairman, Village Panchayat Committee	do	Gadag

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Names of Individuals/ Organisations</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
735.	Smt. B. N. Tulasamma	General	Kolar
736.	B. P. Kadam, M.L.A.,	do	N. Kanara
737.	A. K. Sevak	do	S. Kanara
738.	President, Block Congress Committee	do	Coondapura
739.	Vasudeva Naik	do	Moodabidri
740.	S. V. Velankar	do	Karkala
741.	President, Mysore State Non-Gazetted Officers Association	do	Buntwal
742.	Prof. K. M. Gurupadappa	do	Suratkal
742 A	P. Arokia Swami, Archbishop of Bangalore	Christian	Bangalore
743.	President, Catholic Association of Bangalore	do	do
744.	Chairman, The All-India Progressive Anglo-Indian Social Cultural, Educational and Economic Welfare	do	do
745.	Secretary, The Mysore State Protestant Christian Association	do	Mandya
746.	President, Catholic Association	do	Honnavaara
747.	President, Catholic Association of South Kanara	do	Mangalore
748.	Programme Officer, Church Auxiliary for Social Action Madras	do	Madras
749.	President, Jain Community Association	Jain	Bangalore
750.	President, Khatabi Service Society	Muslim	do
751.	President, Central Muslim Association of Mysore	do	do
752.	Secretary, Anjuman--E-Mahdevia Daira-E-Islam, (Regd.)	do	Channapatna
753.	President, Islami Baitulmaal	do	Bangalore
754.	Ahmed Ali Khan	do	do
755.	Chairman, District Wakf Committee	do	Belgaum
756.	Secretary, Anjuman-E-Islam	do	Bijapur
757.	Secretary, Urdu Education Society	do	do
758.	President, Anjuman-E-Islamia (Regd.)	do	Chickmagalur
759.	Mehamabub and 8 others	do	Chitradurga
760.	C. D. Abdul Rahim and 4 others	do	do
761.	President, Muslim Education Fund Association	do	Davanagere
762.	President, Chitradurga District Wakf Committee	do	Chitradurga
762 A	Chairman Coorg District Wakf Committee	do	Mercara
763.	President, Anjuman-E-Islam	do	Hubli
764.	President, Arabbi Night School	do	Dharwar
765.	President, Gadag-Betgeri Muslim Community	do	Gadag-Betgeri
766.	Secretary, Anjuman Ansarusuffa	do	Gulbarga
767.	Abdul Khadar Raje and 47 others	do	do
768.	M. A. Rahim Arzoo and 4 others	do	do

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of Individuals/ Organisation</i>	<i>Community</i>	<i>Place</i>
769.	President, Sunni Jumma Masjid and Anjuman-E- Qawathul Islam	do	Holenarsipur
770.	S. A. Rahman	do	Kolar
771.	President, Jamath of Majliz-E- Munthezimma	do	K. G. F.
772.	Secretary, Madrasa-E-Tajvidul Quraan	do	Mandya
773.	Secretary, Chamaraajaragar Mus- lim Council	do	Chamaraajanagar
774.	President, Muslim Education Association	do	do
775.	President, Anjuman-E-Islamia	do	Kollegal
776.	Secretary, Muslim Community	do	Gundlupet
777.	President, Taluk Congress Committee	do	H. D. Kote
778.	President, Indian Union Muslim League	do	Raichur
779.	Secretary, Anjuman-E-Islamia Muslameen	do	Bhadravathi
780.	Secretary, Azad Education Society	do	Shimoga
781.	M. Ghousemohiuddin	do	do
782.	President, Anjuman-E-Islamia	do	do
783.	President, Anjuman-E-Anathul Islam	do	Karkala



नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय



सत्यमेव जयते

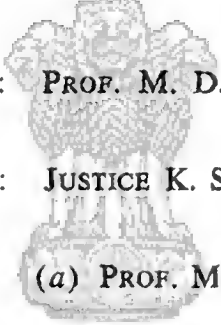
JURISTS' SEMINAR

ON

BACKWARD CLASSES

Bangalore

September 1973

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1. *Welcome Speech* : PROF. M. D. NANJUNDA SWAMY
 2. *Inaugural Speech* : JUSTICE K. SUBBA RAO
 3. *Speeches by* : (a) PROF. M. BASHEER HUSSAIN
(b) PROF. H. G. BALAKRISHNA
(c) PROF. A. M. DHARMALINGAM
(d) SRI B. P. KADAM
(e) JUSTICE K. R. GOPIVALLABHA
IYENGAR
 4. *Presidential Speech* : JUSTICE K. S. HEGDE

Speech by Sri L. G. Havanur, Chairman, Karnataka Backward Classes Commission is not included here, since it is published in 1973 (2) MYSORE LAW JOURNAL, Journal Section.

WELCOME SPEECH

By

Prof. M. D. Nanjundaswamy,

Professor of Law, B.M.S. College of Law, Bangalore

The justification for this Seminar is the fact that a casteless and a classless society is still a far away dream. This dream has been refusing to become a reality because caste, in reality, has always been freezing and not un-freezing.

This is so because, caste has been the most overwhelming factor in Indian life. Those who deny caste in principle also accept it in practice. Life moves within the frontiers of caste and cultured men speak in soft tones against the system of caste, while its rejection in action just does not occur to them. If they are reminded of their acts, which are in such unbelievable conformity with caste, they point out with indignation their thought and speech. Who knows if this strange split between thought and action, characteristic of Indian culture more than of any other, is not the result of caste.

The split between thought and action is the very reason why the Indians are the saddest on earth, also the poorest and the most diseased. With such denouncers of caste and upholders of the nation, a general atmosphere of fraud prevails. For them, to protect castemen and relations becomes an aim rather than to protect justice and general well-being. In essence the needs of caste are at war with those of the nation.

Such a war has made castes endure over thousands of years. They have bred certain traits and aptitudes. Some kind of a selection has taken place that is socially as significant as a natural selection. Certain skills of trade, craft, husbandry or administration or handling of principles have become hereditary. But, some skills are believed to be unbelievably superior to others and there is no indeterminable series of steps in the ladder. Castes of inferior skills are downgraded. They degrade into an almost lifeless mass.

The rift between manual work and brain work and evaluation of one as the lower and the other as the higher, and the increasing complexity and permanency of this rift, are behind the formation of caste.

Numerically small castes of most superior skills are the habitual providers of nation's leadership. In order to maintain their most unnatural dominance, they become a seething mass of chicanery, but superficially most smooth and cultured. The masses are lifeless, the elite are chicane. Caste has done that.

Out of this emerges a new sociological law that shrinkage of opportunity and ability is a necessary accompaniment of caste. Caste restricts opportunity. Restricted opportunity constricts ability. Constricted ability further restricts opportunity. Where caste prevails, opportunity and ability are restricted to ever narrowing circles of the people. Even this ability of the narrowing numerically small castes, is like incestuous breeding devoid of much value.

India's experience is exclusive proof that caste turns a country into the arid deserts of intellectual inadequacy. The Indian intellect has acquired an unwholesome gift for make believe and adjustment for deception and a dead kind of brilliance of accustomed phrase, but its originality has vanished. The numerically small castes have become beggars of body but believe themselves to be the masters of the mind.

The process of shrinking of ability and opportunity once started went on indefinitely with the result that certain privileged castes acquired more privileges while the vast majority was continually deprived of them. No other part of the earth has indeed suffered as much from constricted ability and the near death of the nation that flows from caste. That is the most important reason why the Indian people are so backward. (Lohia, "Caste System").

In our country, where ability has become constricted through culture of centuries, equal opportunity can only further widen the gulf. Groups whom centuries have made able, where a cultural selection almost on the lines of a natural selection has taken place, are in a position to make near-monopolistic use of equal opportunity. Equal opportunity in such a context increases inequality. The remedy of special and preferential opportunities is the only prescription to achieve equality and to revive the abilities of the Indian people. (ibid).

For any Jurist with historical awareness and knowledge of sociological realities, the principle of preferential opportunity for the backward and depressed classes of India should be incontestable and universally acceptable. This principle of special and preferential opportunities was accepted by our Constitution-makers with such an awareness, knowledge and farsight.

But, doubts are now being expressed by many, that during the post-constitutional period, the vicious circle of caste and the restrictive mentality which goes with it, have militated against the proper implementation of this principle. There are also assertions that the numerically small privileged castes have been the upholders of the **status-quo**. It is possible that the powerful classes in a caste-ridden society do not possess an expansive mentality and a scheme of preferential opportunity is anathema to them. It may also be that, the caste-ridden Indian mind has unconsciously but successfully operated against the principle of preferential opportunity.

Looking at the postponement of the achievement of an egalitarian society, the executive, the legislature and the judiciary are being criticised as having wandered away from their chartered course.

Criticism has centred round—the definition of the term "backward classes", the criteria to determine backwardness, the exact scope and extent of executive power, the nature of help, methods and quantum of reservation and the scope of judicial review of executive action, all in their relationship with the principle of preferential opportunities and its implementation.

This seminar has been convened to investigate these doubts, to examine what harm has been done and to explore how good can be done.

Eminent Jurists of the country have, to our great pleasure, come forward to give us their guidance and help.

Introducing these famous personalities to you is, I feel, unnecessary.

Welcoming all the participants to the Seminar, I request Dr. K. Subba Rao to inaugurate the discussion and Sri K. S. Hegde to preside over the deliberations. And, I welcome you all.

Now, I request Dr. K. Subba Rao to inaugurate the Seminar.



सत्यमेव जयते

Justice K. SUBBA RAO,
Former Chief Justice of India.

It is common place that the progress of a country is not judged by the prosperity of the sophisticated few, but by the progress of its backward classes. That is the justification for this seminar. —

The expression 'Backward Classes' is made up of two terms—(1) Backward and (2) Classes. The clear definition of the said two terms is a pre-condition for the evolving of a scheme for their betterment. The term 'Backward Classes' has not been defined by the Constitution, though the characteristics of backwardness are described and some of the categories of the classes are given.

A "Class" is an ascertainable body of individuals with defined characteristics or qualities by which it may be distinguished from another group. The group may be designated on the basis of language, race, religion, caste, habitation, occupation, poverty, sex or such other grounds. 'Class' is the genus and the categories mentioned are the species.

What does the word "Backward" mean? There is no definition of the "backward" in the Constitution. But its qualities are described and some of the Backward Classes are enumerated. There is internal evidence of its characteristics. Article 15 (4) speaks of socially and educationally backward classes of citizens. Article 15(3) enables the State to make any special provision for women and children. Article 16(4) speaks of inadequate representation in services. Article 17 mentions untouchability and expressly abolishes it. Article 23 notices the existence of traffic in human beings and forced labour and prohibits such practices and makes any contravention thereof an offence. Article 46 mentions weaker sections of the people and includes in that expression Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and directs the State to protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Articles 331 and 333 provide for the special representation of the Anglo-Indian community in the House of the People and the Legislature, if they are not adequately represented therein. Article 336 enables the State to make a special provision for the Anglo-Indian community in certain services and Article 337 with respect to educational grants to the said community. Articles 330, 332, 335, 338 to 342 provide for the reservation of seats in the Parliament and Legislature, for educational and employment facilities and for general aid to Scheduled Castes and Tribes. Article 340 empowers the State to investigate the conditions of the Backward Classes and to help them by grants, etc.

The indications given by these and such other Articles enable us to have some idea of the nature of the backwardness and the categories of classes, whose welfare, the constitution seeks to protect and promote; (1) Classes which are socially and educationally backward (Art. 15(4)); (2) Classes which are inadequately represented in services (Art. 16 (4)); (3) Untouchables (Art. 17); (4) Weaker

sections of the people, who are subject to social injustice and all forms of exploitation (Art. 46) (5) Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Anglo-Indians who are backward in different fields—political, social, economic and cultural (Part XVI); (6) Exploited people (Art. 23); (7) Women and children (Art. 15 (3)); (8) Backward Classes (Art. 340). The list is not exhaustive, for the expression “Backward Classes” takes in not only the said categories dealt with specifically in the constitution but also groups suffering under similar disabilities. Backwardness is a product of complex factors.

From the enumerated classes of Backward people, the Constitution may be said to have accepted the following elements of backwardness among others:

(1) Exploitation, (2) Untouchability, (3) Poverty, (4) Social and Educational backwardness, (5) Non-representation in services, and (6) Non-representation in political institutions.

Some of the decisions of the Supreme Court and the High Courts attempted to define backwardness. The Kerala High Court in *State of Kerala Vs Jacob Mathew* (AIR 1964 Kerala, Page 316) defined the problem thus: “Social backwardness contributes to educational backwardness and educational backwardness perpetuates social backwardness and both are the inevitable corollaries of extremes of poverty and the deadening weightage of custom and tradition”.

The Supreme Court observed in *Balaji Vs. State of Mysore* (AIR 1963 S.C. 649) thus—“Sociological, social and economic conditions come into play in solving the problem and evolving appropriate criterion for determining which classes are socially backward. It is obviously, a very difficult task, which will need an elaborate investigation and collection of data and examination of the said data in a rational scientific way. Social backwardness is in the ultimate analysis the result of poverty to a large extent. The classes of citizens, who are deplorably poor, automatically become socially backward”. The Supreme Court in *Trilokinath Vs. State of Jammu and Kashmir* (AIR 1967 S.C. 1283) applied the same definition to backward classes in 16 (4) and laid down two conditions—(1) a class which is socially and educationally backward in the sense explained in *Balaji* case and (2) the said class is not adequately represented in the service under the State.

By and large most of the backward classes have a sub-caste basis but the favoured treatment is given to them not because of their caste, but because of their backwardness. A particular sub-caste may be associated with backwardness or identified with it, but it is the quality of backwardness that attracts preferential treatment. There are also some groups without a sub-caste basis, but only have an occupational one, though they may later acquire a caste mark indicating their occupation. The point, I am trying to make, is that sub-caste is not the dominant consideration, but its backwardness is the criterion, though in many cases, a sub-caste is identified with backwardness and therefore affords an acceptable criterion for favourable treatment. If a sub-caste is wholly or mostly comprised of people, who are socially, economically, politically and culturally backward, the entire sub-caste may be treated as a backward class. Usually the

identification of the backward groups in many cases may be made on the criterion of the sub-caste, but need not necessarily be so.

The identification of the backwardness with large groups going into millions defeats the purpose of the State's aid. Large groups based on religion such as Hindus or Mohammedans or even lesser numerical groups based on caste, which run into millions are not intended to receive a preferential treatment from the State on the basis of their caste or religion as the case may be. For, such groups necessarily include a large proportion of advanced sections and they, in the name of the backwardness of the caste underservedly and to the detriment of the really backward get the advantage. So it is necessary to identify the smaller groups, whatever may be their origin, who really satisfy the criteria of backwardness. Even in larger groups there may be some small defined groups or sects which are backward and may be recognised as such. No doubt the magnitude of the number will be irrelevant in the case of pronounced backward communities like Harijans, Girijans and such others.

The concept is an elastic one. Till there is alround progress, till caste and other differences wither away, what is a progressive class today may become a backward class tomorrow and vice-versa. This calls for a periodical review of the backwardness of the different classes.

Backwardness is therefore a comprehensive term. The ascertainment of a backward class depends upon many factors, sociological, social, economic, caste, locality and such others. It takes in untouchables, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ~~classes which are~~ demonstrably backward. The concept of "backwardness" cuts across the caste system, though some times it may include a whole sub-caste, if the said sub-caste is comprised wholly or mostly of backward people. A backward caste is a backward class; but the latter takes in also other pronounced backward groups. Sometimes the caste of a man is also an indication along with other factors of the backwardness of the class to which he belongs. I would therefore define the expression backward class as an ascertainable and identifiable group of persons based on caste, religion, race, language, occupation and such others with definite characteristics of backwardness in various aspects of human existence-social, cultural, economic, political and such others.

The Indian Constitution has provided for an interesting scheme to uplift the said backward classes, so that they may enter, as early as possible, the main stream of the national life. The Constitution accepted the glorious concept of the doctrine of equality as the foundation of social justice. This doctrine refuses to accept a State in which some men are more equal than others. It recognises equality between men in society. It is enshrined in Article 14 of our Constitution and under that Article the State shall not deny any person equality before law or equal protection of the laws. It means that everyone is equal before law, that no one can claim special privileges, and that all people are equal subject to the ordinary laws of land. But in a society of un-equal basic structure, it is well nigh impossible to make laws suitable in their application to all persons alike. For, men differ physically, intellectually and spiritually. So in order to give practical content to the concept of

equality, courts have evolved the doctrine of classification, which permits law to classify persons having regard to the differences between them, provided the said differences are relevant to the objective of the law. There is another aspect to the doctrine of equality. It enjoins on the State to give equal opportunity to every citizen. This is worked out by invoking two principles--(1) Every citizen shall be given equal opportunity to develop his own personality in the way he seeks to do; (2) The State shall give adventitious aids to the under-privileged to face boldly the competition of life. Though the said two principles appear to be conflicting, the harmonious blending of both gives equal opportunity to all citizens to work out their way of life. Doctrinaire insistence of absolute equality of opportunity leads in practice to inequality, which the doctrine seeks to abolish. The following illustration explains how the combination of the two principles gives equal opportunity to all the citizens. If two horses one of class 1 and the other of class 2 or 3 are made to run a race of one mile starting from the same point, it is obvious that, though theoretically they are given the same opportunity to run the race, in practice, they have not equal opportunity, for the latter, compared to the former, is in a disadvantageous position and is doomed to failure even before the race is begun. So in order to give them equal opportunity, either the latter should be given a shorter distance to run or the former should be given an handicap to counter-balance the latter's inferiority. So, too, in the race of life, unless adventitious aids are given to the under-privileged people, it would be impossible to suggest that they have equal opportunity with the more advanced people. This is the reason and the justification for the demand of social justice that the backward classes of the country should be given a preferential treatment in order to give them an equal opportunity with the other more advanced sections of the community. It is therefore, manifest that the doctrine of equality has been so evolved that while it demands equal treatment between equals, it enables the under-privileged sections of the community to have equal opportunity with others. The doctrine of equality and social justice are complimentary to each other and to maintain their effectiveness they should be so harmonised that, both of them should retain their vitality. The emphasis on the one or the other depends upon, the space, time and circumstance, but the ultimate goal is to achieve an equal society.

The doctrine of equality, as I explained, has been applied by the Indian Constitution to the backward classes. When the Constitution was made, the makers were confronted with two problems (1) the existence of caste and (2) the existence of untouchables, backward classes and castes. They had to provide a scheme which would help to eradicate caste and at the same time raise the status of the backward classes. This they had done in an interesting way. The preamble of the Constitution in solemn terms promised to secure to all citizens justice-social, economic and political. In the terms of the preamble, Article 38 directed the State to strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which the social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life. It provided for a single citizenship and caste is not one of the

qualifications prescribed for it, that is to say that every person with the prescribed qualifications, is a citizen of the Union irrespective of his religion or race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of that. Articles 15, 16 and 29 prohibited discrimination on the aforesaid grounds, generally and particularly in the matter of access to public resorts, employment and admission to educational institutions. Though caste was not expressly abolished and though its existence was assumed, it was eliminated from the affairs of the State. It has no place, not only in the institutions owned by the Government but also in public resorts maintained by the private individuals. It was expected that the steady neglect of caste would accelerate its withering away in course of time. But, at the same time, the State could not ignore the backward classes and castes, who for historical reasons were living in de-humanised conditions. A purely negative attitude of the State in ignoring the caste would perpetuate the conditions which it sought to avoid, for, if backward classes and advanced classes were allowed to compete without State interference, the result would be the difference between backward classes and advanced classes would widen further.

What is the law on the subject? As the matter is not res-integra, it would be more useful to know the law laid down by the Supreme Court than to place our own interpretation on the relevant provisions of the Constitution already noticed earlier. Some State Governments implemented the relevant provisions intended to uplift the backward classes in such a way as to entrench the caste and religious differences in our country. This tendency was corrected by the Supreme Court in the cases that came before it.

The Madras State passed a communal Government Order in relation to the admission of students to the colleges and also another making reservations for posts solely on the basis of caste and communities. The said notifications reserved seats and posts in certain proportion to non-Brahmin Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc. Instead of backwardness being the criteria for reservation, caste and community were adopted for reservation. The former notification was questioned in the State of Madras Vs Champakam Dorairajan (1951 S.C.J. 313) and the latter in Venkataram Vs the State of Madras (AIR 1951 SC 229). The Madras High Court and on appeal, the Supreme Court have set aside the former Government Order on the ground it infringed Article 15 (1) and 29 (2) of the Constitution and the latter on the ground it offended Article 16(1) of the Constitution. After the communal Government Order reserving the seats was set aside, Article 15 of the Constitution was amended by the inclusion of clause 4 to the effect that nothing in Article 15 or in clause 2 of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Clause 4 so introduced does not in any way affect the correctness of the decisions of the Supreme Court in the said two cases, as the Supreme Court did not hold that reservations could not be made for backward classes and scheduled tribes and castes. What it prohibited only was reservation in educational institutions and in the employment to State services on the basis of only caste or religion, but such a reservation would be good if it was made on the ground of

backwardness. These judgements, therefore, nipped in the bud the subtle attempts made by the States to strengthen the caste system, which was expressly discouraged by the Constitution. The Mysore State issued another notification in regard to admissions to engineering and medical colleges reserving 68 per cent of the seats available for students to the so called backward castes. Before issuing the said notification, it appointed a Committee, called Nagana Gowda Committee. The Committee, in its report, found that the average for the whole State of the students in the three highest classes in the High School was 6.9 per 1,000 of the State population. Any caste or community which had an average below 6.9 per 1,000 was classified as backward and any caste or community whose average was below 50 per cent of 6.9 per 1,000 was classified as more backward. On this formula, Mysore Government issued an order classifying castes or communities as backward or more backward. The classification of the backward communities for the purpose of admission was therefore solely based upon the strength of a particular caste and its ratio to the standard arrived at. The result of this formula was four-fold:

1. The so called backward classes got 68 per cent of the seats available for students.
2. Members of a particular caste, though socially, politically and economically had acquired a high status in the State, by reason of the said formula, secured higher quota of admissions.
3. A really backward caste, though all the members of the caste are socially, economically and politically in a backward condition, secured only comparatively small proportion of seats.
4. Brilliant students of other castes not considered to be backward classes were denied seats.

This result was the travesty of the Constitutional provisions. While the Constitution sought to avoid caste from the affairs of the State, this notification, by ingenious method, entrenched castes who are not really backward for preferential treatment. The Supreme Court of India in Balaji's case set aside the said notification on two grounds:

1. The criteria laid down under the notification for the ascertainment of backwardness were not correct.
2. Disproportionate reservation of seats for the so called backward communities at 68 per cent of the seats infringed the fundamental right of the citizens of India.

This decision again prevented the State from circumventing the provisions of the Indian Constitution and projecting castes as the basis of preferential treatment. Pursuant to the said decision, the Mysore Government issued another notification making a classification on the basis of economic conditions and the occupation of the people. The said notification was attacked *inter alia* in Chitralkha's case (AIR 1964 SC 1823) on the ground that the exclusion of caste as one of the considerations in ascertaining the backwardness of a group of persons was contrary to the provisions of the Constitution.

The Supreme Court rejected this contention mainly on the ground that Article 15(4) which enables the States to reserve seats only speaks of "backward classes" and not "backward castes". It pointed out that in ascertaining whether a particular citizen or a group of citizens belong to a backward class, caste may be of some relevance, but it cannot be either the sole or the dominant criterion. It further suggested that if the whole caste is backward, it is more appropriate to put it in the Scheduled Caste. What is more, this decision brought out the anomaly in providing reservation to advanced castes on the sole criterion of the percentage of its representation in the educational institutions, by pointing out that, on that assumption a large number of candidates of the advanced caste would get preference over really backward people in a small caste. The Supreme Court held that the State did not go wrong in not taking into consideration the caste of the applicant. This decision again implemented the Constitutional provisions by eliminating caste from the affairs of States to a large extent and, at the same time, helped the really backward classes in getting preferential treatment from the State. It laid down that for the purpose of Article 16(4), there are two tests for backwardness:

1. A class of citizens must be backward socially and educationally in the sense explained in *Balaji's case*; and
2. The said class must not be adequately represented in the services under the State.

The Supreme Court had to consider this aspect again in **Trilokinath Vs. the State of Jammu and Kashmir—AIR 1967 SC 1283**. The State of Jammu and Kashmir reserved posts on the basis of communities—Hindus and Mohammedans. The Supreme Court set aside that notification on the ground that the said notification was based on religion and not on the criteria of backwardness laid down in *Balaji* and *Chitralekha* cases. The next decision was in **Devadasan's case—AIR 1964 SC 179**. The facts were: The Government of India reserved certain percentage of vacancies for Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes and adopted the principle of carrying forward into the 2nd and 3rd year if, in one year, some of the said vacancies so reserved were not filled up. The result of such "carrying forward" was that, in a particular year 60 per cent of the vacancies were reserved for Scheduled Tribes. The court set aside that order on the ground that under Article 16, each individual had a fundamental right to employment and that, in order to enforce that right, each year of recruitment must be separately considered and as the result of the doctrine of carrying forward was that, in one year, the reservation had become so disproportionate to the vacancies to be filled up that it infringed the fundamental right of the citizen. This decision again emphasised the fact that the reservation even for the Scheduled Castes, should not be so excessive as to infringe the fundamental right of a citizen to compete irrespective of caste considerations. The decision also struck a balance between two principles—(1) Elimination of castes from the affairs of the State and (2) upliftment of backward classes. The same principle was followed by the Supreme Court in **G. A. Rajendran's case—AIR 1968 SC 1012**. But in that case the Supreme Court observed that caste also is a class of citizens and that if caste

is wholly backward, reservation can be made in its favour. This decision is not inconsistent with Chitralkha's case. In that case it was held that the expression "class" was wider than "caste" and if the class was backward, the fact that the caste was not taken into consideration in ascertaining backwardness did not invalidate the relevant order. It was suggested that if the caste was wholly backward it might be included in the list of the scheduled castes. But it did not say that it could not be included in backward classes. Rajendran's case made it clear that a caste was also a class and if it was wholly backward it earned the preferential treatment as a "backward class". The latest case on the subject clearly brought out the scope of Article 15 and 16 in their impact on Article 14. **In Chitra Ghosh Vs Union of India—AIR 1970 SC 35** reservation of seats in medical college were made apart from the Scheduled castes and tribes, to the following categories of students :

- (a) Residents of Delhi.
- (b) (i) Sons and daughters of Central Government servants posted in Delhi at the time of admission.
- (ii) Candidates whose fathers were dead and who were wholly dependent on brother/sister who was a Central Government servant posted in Delhi.
- (c) Sons and daughters of the residents of the Union territories specified therein.
- (d) Sons and daughters of the Central Government servants posted in Indian Missions abroad.
- (e) Cultural Scholars.
- (f) Colombo Scholars.
- (g) Thailand Scholars.
- (h) Jammu and Kashmir State Scholars.

It was contended that the reservations under (e) to (h) did not fall within the exception under Art. 15 Clause 4, as they were not "socially and educationally backward classes of citizens". The Court held that neither Article 15(4) nor Article 29(2) would apply, as they were not denied admission on any of the grounds mentioned therein and therefore, the only question was whether the 'reservation' could come within the test of reasonable classification under Article 14. The court supported the reservation on the basis of reasonable classification; The decision held that reservation can validly be made on the basis of 'backwardness of region or the exigencies of special occupation'. This decision is another land mark in the march of social justice, for it clearly demarcated the boundaries between Article 14 on the one hand and Articles 15 and 29 on the other. The said principles have been affirmed and restated by the Supreme Court in its latest decision. **The State of Andhra Pradesh and others Vs S. V. Balam—AIR 1972 SC 1375.**

There is also some confusion on the question of burden of proof. But in the Sagara's case, the Supreme Court has made the position clear. It held that the burden was on the State to establish the classes for whom reservation was made that are backward and that the

reservation was reasonable. In this context, another decision of the Supreme Court in **General Manager, Southern Railways Vs Rangachari—AIR 1962 SC** may also be noticed. There the majority held that the reservation of posts would apply not only to the direct recruitment, but also to promotions, while the minority held that it would not apply to promotions. There is a strong criticism of the judgement on the ground that promotion on the criterion of backwardness will demoralise the efficient and hard working members of the services, for the promotee, who may be a junior or subordinate to another who is more efficient, may steal a march on him, not on merit, but on other considerations. The way out of this is two fold— (1) To have direct recruitment to services at different levels and (2) merit among the backward classes should be the only criterion for selection. This will serve the purpose of giving weightage to the backward classes at different levels of the services without causing demoralisation among the advanced sections in the services.

The principles enunciated by the Supreme Court may be summarised thus :

(1) The fundamental right to admission to colleges and to employment is an individual right.

(2) The reservation for the backward communities should not be such as to destroy or substantially affect the individual right. Whether it does so or not is a question of fact in each case and is justiciable.

(3) Whether a class is backward, socially and educationally, is a question of fact to be decided on the basis of the criteria laid down in Balaji's case and is justiciable.

(4) The criteria for ascertaining the social and economic backwardness of a class of people are given in Balaji's case in the context of Article 15(4) and the same will apply to ascertain the backwardness of a class of people in Article 16(4), though the expression 'socially and educationally backward' is not found in Article 16(4).

(5) The expression 'Class' is wider than 'Caste'; caste is one of the classes.

(6) In ascertaining whether a class which is not made up of single caste is backward, the caste or castes of the group may be taken into consideration, but it cannot be the sole or dominant criterion.

(7) If the whole caste is backward, the entire caste may be treated as backward class.

(8) In such a case, the better course is to include it in the scheduled castes.

(9) The burden of proof is on the State to establish that the class is backward and that the reservation is reasonable.

(10) The preferential treatment of the backward communities in the matter of employment applies not only to direct recruitment but also to promotions.

(11) If reservation is not made on any one or more of the grounds mentioned in Articles 15, 16 and 29(2), it can be justified on the basis of the principle of reasonable classification. That is to say, the case falls under Article 14 and not under Article 15 or 16.

From the aforesaid discussions three main principles emerge (1) Every person has a fundamental right to equal treatment in the affairs of the State and he cannot be discriminated on the ground of caste, religion, language, sex, locality, etc. This is an individual right. (2) Caste is eliminated from the affairs of the State though it is not expressly abolished. But untouchability is abolished. (3) The factual existence of backward classes is recognised and provisions are made for raising their standards-political, social economic and cultural so that they may enter the main stream of national life on an equal footing with others. Any scheme to help the backward classes will have to harmonise the said three principles.

There is some criticism in regard to the decision in Chitrallekha's case 1964(6) S.C.R. 368, wherein it was held that the exclusion of caste, as one of the considerations in ascertaining the backwardness of a group of persons, does not vitiate the notification giving preferential treatment to the members of a backward class. In that case, if my memory does not fail me, there was no dispute about the existence of class and the only question raised was whether such exclusion of the caste vitiated the order of the State. The question namely, whether the State could for the purpose of preferential treatment form a class based on some common backward characteristics was not raised. The court held on the basis of Balaji's decision that the said exclusion did not vitiate the order.

The following questions might arise in different situations.

(1) A sub-caste may claim to be a backward class; (2) Groups belonging to different subcastes may migrate to a new village or town and may do some common menial or other such work; (3) Groups of people belonging to different castes or religions may be put in one class because of their common backward characteristics such as poverty, occupation, habitation etc.

In the first situation, if the group designated by caste is backward by the application of the criteria above mentioned, it would be recognised as a backward class. The name does not add to the result. But if the caste by name is so well identified in public mind with a backward group, that circumstance also may weigh with the authority concerned. In the second illustration also, if backwardness of the newly formed group can be ascertained by the group characteristics, there is nothing wrong if their sub-castes are not taken into consideration. On the other hand, if the sub-caste or castes are well known backward groups, that could also be taken into consideration. In the third situation a class is recognised on the basis of certain common qualities-Poverty, Occupation, Habitation etc., Equally in this case, caste, need not necessarily be one of the criterion for the ascertainment of the backwardness of the group. It would also be not wrong, if the castes of the individuals of the group were demonstrably backward and if these castes were also taken into consideration.

But the real question which was not raised in that case is whether the Constitution provides only for the existing or subsequently formed caste or classes with definite characteristics and which are accepted by society as backward castes or classes or can the State form a new backward class out of different castes and classes with specific qualities of backwardness. To put in other words, can the State on the basis of poverty, occupation, habitation, etc., form a backward class from and out of the candidates belonging to different castes and religious groups and give preferential treatment in order to raise their status. This is an important question and it requires serious consideration by the Seminar.

In support of the view that a caste or community is the only basis for preferential treatment, reliance is placed on Article 338. That Article provides for the appointment of a Special Officer for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and says that in that Article reference to Scheduled Castes and Tribes shall be construed as including reference to such other backward classes as the President may, on receipt of report of the Commission appointed under clause (1) of Article 340, by order specify and also to the Anglo-Indian community. It is said that the words 'backward classes' shall be read "*ejusdem generis*" with 'Scheduled Castes and Tribes' and if so read, the principle, if a general word followed two or more particular words the general word takes colour from the particular word, shall be applied and if applied it shows that the Constitution provides only for castes. It is further said that the mention of Anglo-Indian community indicates that the preferential treatment extends to a community also. In other words backward classes in the Constitution mean scheduled castes, tribes, Anglo-Indian community and other castes or communities. It is an attractive suggestion but in my view the Article does not conclusively establish it. Firstly, the doctrine of *Ejusdem Generis* is only a rule of construction. Secondly, Art. 338(3) is not a definition clause, it makes Article 338(3) applicable to a category by reference to 340. The referred Article itself impliedly defines a backward class as socially and educationally backward. If the Commissioner does not give a list, backward classes do not cease to exist; they have to be ascertained otherwise. I am saying all these not to discredit the construction put on 338(3) but only to indicate that there is also another view, i.e., backward class is more comprehensive than the backward caste or community. That apart, if a class does not attract any of the grounds mentioned in Articles 15(1) or 16(1) or 29(2), the case falls under Article 14 and the State may certainly classify backward people on grounds other than those mentioned in the former Articles. The decision of the Supreme Court in Chitra Ghosh's case covers the situation.

There is another aspect. There are different backward castes which differ both in numbers and in the degree or category of backwardness. One backward caste population may be one lakh and that of any another only 10,000. In the matter of education and employment opportunities, should the State club them together or should it give them representation in proportion to their numbers? One caste may be more backward than the other or one may be backward economically, the other educationally and the third from the standpoint of employment. Should the preferential treatment

be given only in the fields of their respective backwardness or should they be clubbed together? Generally, all the three go together. There is the interesting phenomenon of the substantial part of the favoured section of a backward caste becoming a forward class and looking down upon the rest as a backward class. In the event, the advanced section of the said caste does no longer deserve favoured treatment. As the said caste, not being wholly backward, ceases to be a backward class, the really backward part of the said caste can be given preferential treatment only under the general head of backward class formed on the basis of the prescribed qualities of backwardness. Such and similar questions arise for elucidation. In this regard, the only difference between the view of the Supreme Court and the other view is that the former said that Caste **may** be taken into consideration and the latter that it shall be the **basis** for classification. If the State makes a law or issues a notification that caste also shall be taken into consideration, the distinction between 'may' and 'shall' also will disappear. Whether you have the sub-caste and then find out, whether it has the attributes of backwardness or whether you take the attributes of backwardness along with the backwardness of the caste, the result will be the same. But if the caste is the basis many advanced members of the caste, will get favoured treatment at the expense of the backward ones.

Another section of the backward class is the women of India. Most of the women are backward and illiterate. A small minority of enlightened women, who take part in the cultural, administrative and political life of the country give a wrong impression of their progress. Though the Constitutional provisions Articles 14, 15 and 16 give them an equal status with men, till now, they could not be fully implemented. Though Article 15(3), 42, 39 (d) (e) directed the State to improve their conditions, no substantial effort has been made in this regard. Though their right to property was recognised, they have not been put on a par with men, indeed the limited right recognised is offset by the execution of wills. The women of Mohammedan community still suffer under the weight of polygamy and easy divorce. There are classes of women, who because of backwardness are forced to do work unsuited to their strength and health. There are also small classes of women, who lead a life of prostitution. Unless the condition of women is improved, there cannot be any marked improvement in the condition of the backwardness of the society, for it is the women that can change the social habits of the family. There cannot be a forward society with backward women. So it is the first charge on a State to take effective measures to improve the condition of women generally and particularly those classes of women who are comparatively in a worse position than the others. A list of the classes of women of extreme backwardness shall be compiled and the State shall give them special facilities for education, for work, etc., No doubt, generally speaking, women of backward castes are backward but it need not necessarily be so; that apart the women of backward castes require a special scheme for their improvement, as distinguished from that of their men. Though women are by and large, backward, the State in the beginning shall concentrate on the most backward sections of the womanhood by formulating and implementing schemes for this betterment.

But to my mind economic backwardness is the basis of all backwardness. Generally all categories of backwardness stem from economic backwardness. Therefore, the main attack of the State shall be on that front| Art. 340 provides for the machinery and I do not know how far and to what extent its potentialities have been explored. But ultimately the problem of backwardness can be solved only if every citizen, irrespective of sex has been given fundamental right to education and to work. Unfortunately, as matters now stand, we have to wait for a long time for that desirable right.

The State shall avoid many pit falls in their pursuit to improve the lot of the backward classes. (1) In the name of backward classes really advanced classes or castes shall not be allowed to get the benefit; (2) in the name of upliftment of backward classes, caste system shall not be perpetuated; (3) backwardness shall not be allowed to become a vested right, for if it is so allowed there will be unhealthy competition among various communities for the status of backwardness. The psychosis of backwardness may affect real advancement; (4) the upliftment of backward classes shall not be allowed to suppress brilliance, for, a country which neglects brilliance will ultimately deteriorate in quality.

The result of the discussion may be stated in the following propositions:

(1) The expression "class" is wider than in expression "caste" or "community"; it takes in, in addition to "caste", other groups based on language, race, religion, occupation, location, poverty, sex, etc., Caste is also a class; (2) The expression 'backward class' is an elastic and changing concept. It takes in not only the classes existing before the Constitution but also those formed after the Constitution; (3) The criteria of backwardness shall be based on political, social, economic and cultural backwardness of a class; (4) The expression "backward class" is not intended to denote the large mass of people covered by each of the four varnas, i.e., Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vysya, Shudra or the different religious denominations or political associations, but ordinarily only those small groups of backward people identified by different sub-caste, religious sects, occupations, habitation, poverty, etc. But if a particular sub-caste, though comprised of large numbers, is wholly or mostly backward, it can be classified as backward class; (5) If a sub-caste is wholly or mostly backward it could be included in the list of backward classes, but it would be preferable to include such sub-caste in the list of scheduled castes, as by such inclusion the sub-caste will get additional advantages, particularly representation in parliament, Legislatures and services. See Article 330, 332, 335; (6) The State may classify a group as a backward class, on grounds other than those mentioned in Articles 15, 16 and 29 such as poverty, occupation, etc., and such a classification can be sustained under Article 14; (7) A list or lists of the classes of women of extreme backwardness shall be prepared and special and suitable aids shall be given to them in the matter of education, employment, economic development, etc., (8) A list of backward classes shall be prepared by the Presidential Commission under Article 340 or if it was not feasible, by a State Commission after a thorough and objective investigation. Such a Commission shall suggest ways and means

of improving the conditions of the said backward classes. It shall give not only the lists of backward classes, but also special schemes of development peculiar to those classes. The Committee or Committees appointed to select candidates for admission to educational institutions or for State employment shall accept those lists as final for the purpose of selection; (9) The courts shall ordinarily accept those lists as final, unless it is found that in the preparation of the list there was perversity, fraud or grave injustice.

The Seminar would be more helpful to the authorities concerned if it accepted the principles laid down by the Supreme Court and applied them for ascertaining the categories of backward classes who deserve State aid and help.

Shortly stated, I would suggest the following principles for the consideration of the Seminar.

(1) If a sub-caste or a community or a sub-sect of a sub-caste or a community is wholly or mostly backward, in the sense explained earlier, it may be classified as a backward class or preferably as a Scheduled Caste.

(2) The State also may classify persons who are demonstrably backward for preferential treatment on grounds other than those mentioned in Articles 15(1), 16(1) and 29(2) such as poverty, occupation, habitation, family background, etc., It may also take into consideration the caste or castes of the people for the purpose of determining the backwardness of the class.

(3) A list or lists classifying women of extreme backwardness may also be prepared for special treatment.

The combined operation of these three principles benefit not only the pronounced backward sub-castes or communities, but also those unfortunate individuals who may be more backward than those belonging to the said sub-castes and communities. But the most important of all is to create the necessary economic conditions to give the fundamental right to education and work to every citizen including the backward classes. Backwardness shall not become a competitive vested right; it can only be removed by honest and hard work.

I have expressed my passing thoughts. I see before me experts on the subject—Retired Judges, leading Advocates, Jurists, Professors, Administrators, Politicians, Sociologists and others. The Seminar is fortunate in having Mr. K. S. Hegde, former Judge of the Supreme Court of India to preside over it. He is a genuine champion of backward classes. With his knowledge of Constitutional law and his sympathetic perspective of approach to the problem of backward classes he will be an un-erring guide to your deliberations. I am also happy that Mr. L. G. Havanur, the Chairman of the Mysore Backward Classes Commission will also be taking part in the seminar. He has made a special study of the subject and he has acquired a thorough theoretical and practical knowledge of the actual conditions obtaining in the State and the nature of and the extent of the aid to be given to the different backward classes. The combined wisdom of the eminent men, who are taking part in the seminar, I am sure, will produce a practical scheme of social justice, comprised of "lists of steps", which would assist the authorities concerned to solve the difficult and challenging problem of backward classes. I have now the great pleasure to inaugurate the Seminar.

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Article 15(1) of the Constitution prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, sex and place of birth. Article 16(1) guarantees equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State.

But Article 15(4) permits the State to make special provisions for the advancement of socially and educationally backward classes or for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Similarly Article 16(4) authorises the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

It should be noted that Article 15(4) was introduced in the Constitution by way of First Amendment.

The need for introducing Clause 4 in Article 15 arose because of the judgment of the Supreme Court in Champakam Dorairajan's case. In this case the Court struck down the Madras Government Order commonly described as Communal G.O. which had fixed certain proportion of seats for different communities and castes in the various professional colleges. The Communal G.O. was challenged on the ground that Article 29 prohibits discrimination in the admission to the educational institutions maintained or aided by the Government on the basis of religion, race, caste and language. In defence of the above communal G.O. it was argued that if merit were to be the sole criterion for admission to the Medical Colleges, out of 386 seats, 249 seats would go to Brahmins and none would go to backward Hindu Communities and to Harijans. But the High Court of Madras struck down the above Government Order as the Article 29 did not provide any exception as in the case of Article 16(4).

The striking down of the above order would have led to grave consequences. Tension between Brahmins and Non Brahmins would have increased and the oppression of the Scheduled Castes would have continued. To avert this situation the First Amendment to the Constitution was introduced in the Parliament. Moving the First Amendment Prime Minister Nehru said :

“ Nevertheless, while it is quite valid and we bow to the decision of the High Court of Madras in this matter, the fact remains that we are faced with a situation to which the present generation is not to blame. Therefore, some sort of special provision must be made. We have to do something for the communities which are backward educationally, economically and in other respects, if we wish to encourage them in these matters. We come up against the difficulty

that, on the one hand, in our Directive Principles of Policy we talk of removing the inequalities, of raising the people in every way socially, educationally and economically, of reducing the distance which separate the groups or classes of individuals from one another, on the other hand we find ourselves handicapped in this task by certain provisions in the Constitution."

It should be clearly understood that the First amendment was introduced to bring Articles 15 and 29 in conformity with Article 16(4). It can be said that the amendment validated the Communal G.O. of the Madras Government which had made reservations in the educational institution on the basis of Caste and Communities. This was in the year 1951.

Subsequently, the Mysore Government appointed a Committee under the Chairmanship of Dr. Nagana Gowda, to determine the Backward Classes. The Committee after examining all aspects of the terms backward and classes came to conclusion that Caste and Community could alone be the basis for "determining" the backwardness of classes. The recommendations of the Committee with certain modifications were accepted by the Mysore Government. It was again challenged in the Supreme Court in the Balaji case. The Court while striking down the above order of the Mysore Government held that the Backward Classes of Citizens appearing in Article 15(4) are those castes, tribes or parts or groups which are similar to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the matter of backwardness. But the Court forgot that if the class of persons to be protected were to be those who were akin to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the protection to be logically conferred on them would have been similar to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

However it struck down the Mysore Government G.O. partly on the ground that it had taken caste as the sole basis for the specification of backward classes.

The Supreme Court in the above case started with the dictionary meaning of class which states that a Class means 'Division of Society, according to status and rank or caste'. This meaning is synonymous with any of the accepted definition of caste. It did not proceed further logically because according to the Court, Muslims and Christians have no castes among them. But it forgot that these communities are classes of Indian Society who also could be backward.

Further, the Supreme Court in Chitrallekha's case made certain uncalled for general observations. It stated that "if the intention was to equate classes with castes nothing could have prevented the framers of the Constitution to use the expression Backward Classes or Castes".

It is submitted, if the expression 'Classes or Castes' were used in the Constitution one has to agree with the view of Mr. L. G. Havanur who points out in his Book on Backward Classes (1964) that in that case it would have meant that the beneficiaries of these provisions

would only be the Hindu groups. He further states that the Constitution is meant for all the Castes and Communities; hence to cover them all a general term 'Class' has been used instead of 'Castes'.

After the Supreme Court judgement in the Balaji case the Mysore Government issued another G.O. in July 1963 classifying individuals as backward classes for the purpose of Article 15(4). According to this G.O. an individual is backward if his parents' income is less than Rs. 1200 per annum and that he is either an agriculturist, petty businessman, artisan or a menial servant. This classification has been upheld by the Mysore High Court.

But the lacuna in the order which the Court failed to notice was this Government Order provides for the determination of the backwardness of individuals, and not of classes. Article 15(4) speaks of the backward classes and not individuals.

Apart from the legal quibblings and hair splitting arguments one has to face the reality of the existing situations. The above G.O. has been grossly misused and has denied to certain backward communities the advantages which the Constitution had conferred upon them. This is solely due to the wrong approach of the Judiciary which living in its ivory tower had failed to take notice of the hard facts of life. A cursory look at the allotment of seats in the professional colleges and the appointments made in the Government service clearly shows that the most powerful sections of society have secured a lion's share under the above G.O. of July 1963 and the real backward sections of society have been totally deprived of even those meagre benefits which they enjoyed in the pre-Constitution era. The question to be asked is, would a situation in which predominant percentage of seats were to go to Christians or Muslims be tolerated by others? Or would it be considered fair if all the important key posts of State, under the above G.O. were to be secured by one Caste? Would we then be ushering in an egalitarian era? It may be argued that there are limited number of posts in the Government Service and giving the backward classes those posts will not be of much help to them. It should be noted that a socialist Government is different from laissez faire Government. In a socialist Government one cannot get his daily ration or even a bag of cement without a permit from the Government. In all these matters the Government officials do play a predominant role. Nobody could dare say that casteism or communalism does not play any role in conferring benefits on the people. Hence, the only solution appears to be that backwardness of a class should be specified on the basis of caste.

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“An unequal society” said Harold J. Laski, “always lives in fear and with a sense of impending disaster in its heart.”

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar during the Round Table Conference which was held in 1930-31 declared, I belong to that class which takes its stand on democracy and which seeks to destroy monopoly in every shape and form. Our aim is to realise in practice, our ideal of one man, one value in all walks of life, political, economic and social.”

Hindu Society being divided into ‘Chaturvarnas’ ascribing the highest social status to one caste and the lowest to another, there is justification in taking caste as the unit for the purpose of assessing the percentage of backwardness. So long as caste system is not obliterated, (there is no such possibility as long as the tenets of Hinduism are accepted and the Hindu society exists), even by permissiveness, it gets perpetuated. No special effort is required for its perpetuation. Perpetuation is a stark reality. When there is perpetuation, one has to think of the fate of the lowest caste in Hindu society which comprises the bulk of the Nation’s population. In a progressive country, in a welfare State and in a Democracy which promises justice, social, economic and political, it is the duty of the advanced, the progressive and socially exalted to think of ways and means to promote the interests of the weaker sections of society consisting of not only scheduled castes and tribes but also the backward classes of citizens. Principle of social responsibility calls for fair-play if not sacrifice or magnanimity.

Backwardness was neither their own creation nor their choice. Caged in the pigeon holes of casteism, socially exploited and deprived of equal opportunity and encouragement, these backward classes of citizens who are backward masses in India today who have suffered through centuries socially, educationally and economically without a fair or reasonable and equitable share in the administration of the Government, have been gaining consciousness of late which will lead to an upsurge if their interests are ignored.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar was justified in striking a note of warning when he said, ‘On January 26, 1950, we will have equality in politics and inequality in social and economic life. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest moment or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy.....’

Thought explosion precedes social revolution. The problem of the backward classes is not just a Sociological problem. It is a human problem of the multitudes and also the problem of rural India peculiar to Hindu society.

If a few progressive thinkers do not recognise caste system and its perpetuation, will the entire Hindu society approve of their action? Just by utterance, can 'caste', which is a 'status symbol' in the caste-ridden Hindu society be abrogated? Can pious platitudes and verbal consolation alleviate the sufferings, social injustice and exploitation to which the backward classes of citizens have been subjected since time immemorial? What has been described by a section of the press and public as 'the backward era' may well turn out to be an 'era of emancipation of the backward classes.'

It is with a view to promote the advancement and interests of the backward classes that the Constitution after protracted discussions, prolonged debates and application of mind incorporated certain special provisions in the Constitution of India such as Article 15(4), 16(4), 338(3) and the like. These articles are not meant to be pious obligations. They are intended to achieve social justice. The general provisions under the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the Constitution recommend to the State Government, positive steps for equitable distribution of wealth, for elimination of economic disparities, for prevention of concentration of wealth in a few hands and in general to bring about an overall economic upliftment and national reconstruction. In the Welfare State of ours, in order to bestow particular attention on the needs of the weaker sections of society like the backward classes of citizens, special provisions have been made under Article 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution. After the recent historic judgment of the Supreme Court which overruled the ruling in Golaknath's case validating the 24th amendment to the Constitution, thereby the power of the Parliament to amend any part of the Constitution including the fundamental rights chapter being reserved, a new awakening has set in. It will not surprise any one if there emerges, a nation-wide demand insisting on the Parliament to amend the Constitution appropriately with the aim of providing adequate reservation of seats in the educational institution and posts in Government services, in favour of all classes of citizens in proportion to their population as was the practice during the pre-constitution period. In the present context it may not be difficult for the Parliament to pass such an amendment since the party in power commands more than two-thirds majority. There has been loud thinking among the protagonists that if the party in power is keen on fulfilling its pledge to the masses, it should pass such an amendment without loss of time lest its **bonafide** be doubted.

If someone asks the question, 'is it not possible to devise a scale which could be applied to all', it is only begging the question and nothing else. If an arm-chair critic says that 'policies and programme of action based on universalistic rather than particularistic considerations alone can save the future generation from utter degradation of peeping through the commercial pigeon holes', it would be an evasive, philosophical and abstract pronouncement and not a concrete and pragmatic solution to the problem.

A legitimate claim for the improvement of the lot of the backward classes of citizens should not be branded as communalism. A constructive agitation to repair the damage caused to the nation by a small section of society dominating the rest through centuries on

caste principles, should not be mistaken for communalism. It ought to be respected as a healthy movement to eradicate the mischief caused by exploitation on caste principles.

If a doubting Thomas queries whether it is not possible for the not really backwards to pose themselves as belonging to the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes in order to obtain special benefits, the answer is that if unscrupulous persons don the robes of backwardness for fraudulent intent, is there no law to take care of such persons? If infraction of law takes place, should law be scrapped?

According to Article 46 of the Constitution, it is enjoined upon the State that it shall promote with special care the educational as well as the economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes. The weaker sections of the people obviously mean the backward classes of citizens. Article 16(4) of the Constitution enables the State Government to make provisions for the reservation of posts in favour of any backward class of citizens, which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State. It necessarily follows that the yardstick for reservation of appointments and posts in favour of any backward class of citizens is inadequacy of representation in the services under the State. In other words, if a particular class of citizens is inadequately represented in the State services then, by taking into account the total number of posts or appointments so far filled up and by calculating on a State average, such a class of citizens or caste should be treated as backward and the representation ought to be on the basis of population of that particular class of citizens or caste. Thus, for the purpose of Article 16(4), social and educational backwardness is not relevant unlike the case of Article 15(4). In Article 15(4) of the Constitution, the qualifying words are 'socially and educationally backward classes of citizens', whereas in Article 16(4), the expressions 'socially and educationally backward' have been deliberately omitted.

While dealing with Article 15(4) of the Constitution the then Chief Justice Gajendragadkar referring to the caste system in Hindu society observed, 'A 'Class' according to the dictionary meaning, shows division of society according to status, rank or caste. In the Hindu social structure, caste unfortunately plays an important part in determining the status of the citizen. Though according to sociologists and vedic scholars, the caste system may have originally begun on occupational and functional basis, in course of time, it became rigid and inflexible.....This artificial growth inevitably tended to create a feeling of superiority and inferiority and to foster narrow caste loyalties. Therefore, in dealing with the question as to whether any class of citizens is socially backward or not, it may not be irrelevant to consider the caste of the said group or citizens". From these observations one could gather that a class of citizens could be said to be backward if its status is low. One need not fight shy of a caste, i.e., its status.

As pointed out by Shri L. G. Havanur, in one of his books, "fortunately for the really backward classes, who have suffered since 1962 without admission to technical institutions and without secur-

ing employment in Government services, the Supreme Court in a case reported in A.I.R. 1968 S.C. 1379 and in *Minor A. Peria Karuppan* case (1970) held that caste cannot be excluded in determining the backward class. It said, in India 'caste has always been recognised as a class'. To quote the words of the Supreme Court, 'there is no gainsaying the fact that there are numerous castes in this country who are socially and educationally backward. To ignore their existence is to ignore the facts of life'.

To quote Shri L. G. Havanur, 'none of the High Courts and even the Supreme Court, except in *Balaji* case, referred to this Article while ascertaining the meaning of the expression 'Backward Classes' Gajendragadkar, J, as he then was, after referring to Article 338 of the Constitution said that Article 338(3) helps to bring out the point that the Backward Classes for whose improvement special provision is contemplated by Article 15(4) are comparable to Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes and some of the Backward Classes may be included in the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Unfortunately, as stated above, none of the High Courts, not even the Supreme Court in later cases, considered this provision to give meaning to the expression 'Backward Classes'.

For the foregoing reasons, I am of the opinion that 'caste' ought to be the sole basis for the purpose of classification of the Backward Classes of citizens. The expression 'class' is sufficiently wide enough to bring within its amplitude other religions also, besides the Hindu Society.

In *Balaji* case, the Supreme Court while dealing with Article 15(4) and 29(2) in regard to admission to educational institutions observed that 'speaking generally and in a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50 per cent; how much less than 50 per cent would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case.' Presently it will be seen that the ceiling of 50 per cent restricting the reservation becomes unworkable in certain circumstances because the reservation has to be made at a higher percentage in such States where there is an overwhelming population of Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes and similarly in the case of Backward Classes also. In the State of Naga Land, the Scheduled Tribes alone have a population of about 93 per cent. It is not clear whether a situation of this type was conceived or brought to the notice of the Supreme Court as a foreseeable situation when arguments were heard in *Balaji* case. To take another instance, in Nilgiris there is a group of citizens known as 'Thodas' whose population is about 200. The Government has taken special measures with a view to save this particular tribe from extinction. If the principle laid down by the Supreme Court is accepted, even if one person among these 200 citizens gets educated and the very same person is employed in Government service, then the entire Thoda Community will have to be branded as forward both under Article 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution which would reduce the principle enunciated in *Balaji* case to an absurdity. 'Siddis' in North Kanara District are mixed in three religions viz., Hindu, Muslim and Christian. These 'Siddis' are evenly distributed among these three religions to the extent of approximately 1,500 in each religion. They have their own dialect and they are aboriginals. They are also semi-naked forest dwellers. By no

stretch of imagination they can be treated on par with advanced communities or castes. If two 'Siddis' among Hindus, two 'Siddis' among Muslims and two 'Siddis' among Christians become educated and secure employment in the State services, and if the principle laid down in Balaji case is adopted as the basis in order to determine educational backwardness, then all the Siddis will have to be treated as advanced class of citizens. Once again this proposition will lead to an absurdity. The principle in question is that the class of citizens whose educational level is well below or substantially below the State average can be treated as educationally backward. If the principal aforesaid as laid down by the supreme Court in Balaji case is accepted then it would lead to the anomaly that the entire Thoda community and the entire Siddi community will have to be branded as educationally forward as pointed out earlier.

On an examination of the Supreme Court judgement in Balaji case, it is surprising to find that no reasoning has been offered in laying down the ceiling for reservation at 50 per cent. In the words of the Supreme Court on page 663 in the case of Balaji Vs. State of Mysore (AIR 1963 Supreme Court, 649), "speaking generally and in a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50 per cent how much less than 50 per cent would depend upon the relevant prevailing circumstances in each case." With due respects, the fixation of the reservation at a maximum of 50 per cent is arbitrary illogical and incapable of uniform application.

In the same judgment of the Supreme Court in the matter of determining educational backwardness, the Supreme Court laid down in para 28 of the judgment, 'if the test has to be applied by a reference to the State average of student population, the legitimate view to take would be that the classes of citizen whose average is well or substantially below the state average can be treated as educationally backward. On this point again, we do not propose to lay down any hard and fast rule; it is for the State to consider the matter to decide in a manner which is consistent with the requirements of Art. 15(4)'. It is difficult to reconcile this observation of the Supreme Court because similar discretion was not given to the State Government in the matter of fixing the maximum percentage of reservation for the backward classes of citizens. Once again, we are left to grope in the dark to discover the reasoning.

The Nagan Gowda report and the impugned order in Balaji case dealt with the question of determination of educational backwardness for purposes of reservation in the matter of admission to the educational institution on the basis of the average of student population in the last three High School Classes of all High Schools in the State in my opinion is not a fair basis for determining educational backwardness. The basis should be the average of student population in S.S.L.C. or Xth Standard and not the last three High School Classes. This will afford a fair and equitable basis for determination of educational backwardness which will reach the really backward classes of citizens instead of touching only the fringe or peripheries of the backward classes. Once again I am at a loss to understand the reasoning behind the acceptance of the basis mentioned in Nagan Gowda report by the Supreme Court.

I am constrained to remark that the principles laid down by the Supreme Court in accepting the basis adopted by the Nagan Gowda report for determining educational backwardness, the basis for fixing the maximum ceiling of reservations at 50 per cent, the basis to classify a community as forward are draconian. The problem of backward classes has to be tackled with a sense of pragmatism by weighing the problem in the scale of social and human values especially since not much distance has been traversed between the bullock cart age and the astronaut's age.

One cannot find a solution to the problem of determination of the backward classes by resorting to an amateurish or mathematical formula oblivious of constitutional provisions by distinguishing individuals on rural and urban basis, and literacy or illiteracy basis. Such an attempt to over-simplify a complex problem will be an exercise in futility.

A microscopic minority marching ahead with the masses trailing far behind socially, educationally and economically, neither speaks of an egalitarian society nor a civilised and progressive society. Mere legislation in a language couched in cabalistic terminology will only make the law schizophrenic unless the privileged sections of society extend human understanding and a sincere desire to carry the backward masses along with them towards fruitful goals.

The preamble to the Constitution assuring justice, social, economic and political will be merely ornamental and illusory unless, as very rightly said by Sri Havanur, "We proceed with an avowed object of fighting our religious, social and economic evils, to make a successful democracy."

I am optimistic that the Backward Classes Commission which has been constituted by the Government of Mysore will take note of all shades of public opinion in fulfilling the welfare task entrusted to it, for, after all, the future of the State hangs on the future of the Backward Classes.

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Who are the backward classes and how did they come to be what they are? What should be done to them so as to enable them to take their proper and honourable place in the land of their birth and in the governance of the country? These are the problems engaging the attention of our statesmen, judges, politicians and all right-thinking men, not because Hindu law, polity, and religion enjoin these duties of them, but because, despite them and in opposition to them, the democratic constitution of India and the impact of socialism compels them to do so.

The problem of the backward classes is the problem of India and it has been neglected for long. These classes in the narrower sense are not the depressed untouchables to be included in the Scheduled Caste list. They are not untouchables to be dropped from the Caste Hindu pale of Varnadharma. Their social, economic, educational, and political conditions are not as bad and inhuman as that of the untouchables that demanded quicker humanitarian attention. Their unenviable plight came to be voiced only during the second half of the twentieth century and it was given to South India to first bestow some attention on them. Clubbed as they are amongst the vast intermediate class of Shudras in the infamous Hindu hierarchic caste system, their interests got merged in the wider interests of this middle caste group as a whole. Backwardness in Hindu polity is of varying degrees relative to the social status occupied by each of the sub-castes in the ubiquitous hierarchy.

Till the adoption of the Constitution for free India in 1950, all non-Brahmins including the Muslims, Christians, and Sikhs were regarded as backward, as all these people were far behind the Brahmins in education and the race for government posts.

The Caste System

The Hindu society is based on caste and is split into bits, each homogenous endogamous hereditary unit and each with a rank or grade in the hierarchy. Each group has the satisfaction of being superior to many lower castes, though inferior to the castes above. This graded inequality attended with many ignominious disabilities had been willingly accepted by all the castes as divinely ordained. The ingenious device of hierarchy prevented any challenge to the system and avoided any kind of revolution. It has been said that there is no Hindu without a caste and no caste without a grade. The evil of discriminative division is so deep-rooted and widespread that it has permeated even into the ancient original four varnas. There are hundreds of castes in each varna and amongst the untouchables with attendant feelings of inferiority and superiority.

The Raison D'Etre of Caste

The purpose of caste is inequality to shower the best of life on the top few. The twice born or dwijas distinguish themselves with

the cross thread and have specialised themselves for brain work, relegating to the no-thread Shudras all manual labour which they must expend for the pleasure of and in the service of the twice-born. Caste would be meaningless without hierarchy and the classification into the two main groups for brain work and hand work. Manual labour is held in contempt in Hindu polity. For this reason, education in general and of Sanskrit in particular was denied to all Shudras on pain of the most severe punishment. Sanskrit was further denied to the second and third caste dwijas with the result that Brahmin aristocracy became the meritocracy of India as well.

The sastras declared that only Brahmins could be ministers and judges, priests and purohits; and this provision resulted in the whole of the religious and administrative machinery becoming the monopoly of the Brahmins. No wonder, therefore, that by the time the British had consolidated their power in India and spread out their administrative activities all over the country, the Brahmins, as the only educated community monopolised the services, which in time came to be regarded as their birth-right like the priest-craft.

Reservations under British Rule

The pattern of Hindu caste system has put a premium on white collar jobs. After the advent of democracy "in every range of Indian society" says Andre Beteille, a noted sociologist, "a very high value is attached to non-manual work, and a white collar job is viewed as a passport to respectability. This view is sometimes held all the more keenly by the Backward Classes who have until recently been almost wholly excluded from such occupations. Now that the white-collar jobs are almost within reach, no price appears to be too high for them." (1).

The first challenge to caste Hindu monopoly in the Centre came from the Muslims. But it was a long time before they could extract reservations for themselves. Sometime during the thirties, the Government reserved 25 per cent of the recruitment to the Central Services to the Muslims where there was direct recruitment. Sometime later, the Muslims managed to secure reservation in the Central Civil Service effected through examination. The Sikhs, Christians, and Anglo Indians were also helped through specific reservations more or less in proportion to their population in the land.

Thanks to the ceaseless efforts of Dr. Ambedkar, the Depressed Classes first obtained $8\frac{1}{3}$ per cent reservation in the Central Service in August 1943 and got it raised to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in June 1946 and then $16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent after independence in proportion to their population. The Scheduled Tribes obtained a reservation of 3 to 5 per cent after independence. Since 1950 reservation has been made to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Administrative services and at first they were unable to fill their quota but since 1962, they are taking their quota in full.

Backward Classes and Reservations

The Mysore Government altered the scheme of recruitment in 1927 to raise the proportion of the Backward Classes and reserved

for them 75 per cent of the total vacancies. But for these reservations the non-Brahmins would not be where they are to-day.

In Madras, the Justice Party that came to power after the Montford Reforms made reservations in the services until it reached the famous communal G.O. in 1926 by which all the vacancies were ordered to be filled in fixed and fair proportions to the various communities. For every 14 posts, the distribution was as below :—

6 to non-Brahmin Hindus	..	43 per cent
2 to backward Hindus castes	..	14 per cent
2 to Brahmins	..	14 per cent
2 to the Depressed castes	..	14 per cent
1 to Anglo Indians and Indian Christians.	..	7 per cent
1 to Muslims	..	7 per cent

In Andhra, the reservation was almost similar. For every 7 posts, 6 went to the Non-Brahmins.

The Government of Travancore and Cochin before their merger apportioned the posts to several communities in proportion to their population. 35 per cent of the vacancies reserved for the Backward Classes were distributed as below by an order of 1952 to satisfy many communities.

13 to Ezhava Hindus
5 to Muslims
3 to Kammalas
3 to Nadars
1 to Syrian Christians
6 to Latin Christians
2 to other Hindus
2 to other Christians.

नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

The Government of Bombay and Saurashtra also made some reservations in respect of SCs, STs and other Backward Classes.

The Government of Kashmir and Jammu after independence made some reservations from about 1952 in order to improve the position of the native Muslims and others in the services, for, the 2 per cent Kashmiri Pandits monopolised over 90 per cent of the jobs. The distribution by reservation was, 50 per cent to Muslims, 40 per cent to Dogra Hindus of Jammu, and the remaining 10 per cent was left to Kashmiri Pandits, Sikhs, Buddhists and others. In most other princely State Governments, similar reservations were made for seats in the technical colleges, for there is no point in reserving posts without preparing the candidates for the posts.

There does not appear to be any reservations for the Backward Classes in many North Indian States, not because there was no problem but because the backwards there appear to be too backward even to represent their grievances and assert their rights. It was only very recently, in August 1973 that some 83 M.Ps. were reported to have presented a petition to the Prime Minister demanding reservations for the backwards.

Political consciousness amongst the backward castes in the northern states has now started to express itself, and the Government is getting aware of it.

If a non-Brahmin movement had taken place in the north about the time such movements were organised in the south, things would have been different even at the time of our independence. There is a feeling amongst the people that the Centre may not improve the condition of the backwards by way of reservations in the Central Institutions and the services, until the backward classes capture power in the Hindi States and the Centre. But this feeling may be wrong. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes obtained reservations without capturing power, for, many noble and democratic minded Hindu leaders always have a soft corner in their hearts for the downtrodden. The principle of equality has been openly and unequivocally accepted by all.

Srimathi Indira Gandhi, has sworn herself to uplift the backwards and the downtrodden and split the Congress for this purpose. She has done what no one dared to do. She has boldly enacted the 24th Amendment to the Constitution, by which Parliament has been made supreme with power to amend any part of the Constitution for the benefit of the common man and for placing him on a footing of equality with the traditional privileged classes. The supreme judiciary has also been shown its proper place and position in the scheme of the new socialist order that is to usher in the welfare State. There is every hope, therefore, for the backward classes to look forward to immediate ameliorative measures.

Castes and the Constitution

Consequent to the challenges made to the various reservations after independence, the High Courts and the Supreme Court struck down all of them as being based on religious and caste grounds in violation of the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution, and limited the quantum of reservation to less than 50 per cent between the years 1951 and 1963. It is submitted that it was not impossible for courts to have justified the higher percentage of reservations and the reservations made on caste plus other factors. After all, these reservations had been made by popular governments either before or after independence. The Central Government's negative attitude to the interests of the Backward Classes may have influenced the rulings of the Supreme Court to some extent, for, the Central Government has so far not made any reservations in the central services apart from that done for the Scheduled Castes. The apathy of the Backward Classes in the northern Hindi states may be partly responsible for this lacuna.

One possible reason why the Southern States made the reservations may be due to the fact that it has been possible for the people in the south to raise Chief Ministers from amongst the Backward Classes and that they in turn granted or continued some benefits to the backward people. All this goes to prove that the interests of the Backward Classes were better protected and sustained before than after independence, which is a sad commentary on the achievements of both the executive and the judiciary.

The Kalelkar Backward Classes Commission

The Backward Classes Commission appointed by the Government of India in accordance with Art. 340 of the Constitution, under the Chairmanship of Kakasaheb Kalelkar made some half-hearted recommendations after confusing itself on the issues faced by it with the result that it ended in a fiasco. The Commission was not able to arrive at correct solutions, not so much because it had not the proper vision and circumspection, as because it had not the mind for it. The Commission failed to fathom the spirit behind the Constitution-makers who used the term 'Backward Classes' with a set purpose. The fundamental meaning of the term eluded the Commission, as otherwise, it would not have proceeded to treat women as a backward class. One wonders why the Commission did not treat children, lunatics, idiots, sick people, old people also as backwards. It must have been noted by the Chairman that women have been clubbed with children for purposes of special protection in Art. 15 (3) for the simple reason that women are the weaker sex. Weaker sex is not backward class any more than children are backward class. It is also extraordinary that Kalelkar, in an independent postscript of his own, added the Sindhi refugees as backward class for a period of 7 years. Confusion of concepts can go no further and yet it smashed the hopes of the backward classes in independent India.

In spite of confusions and contradictions, the Commission did make some useful recommendations for the uplift of the backwards as below :—

- (1) Reservations in technical institutions 70 per cent of seats available.
- (2) Selection Committees to make selections.
- (3) Reservations in Government services to be

Class I Posts.—25 per cent of the vacancies.

Class II Posts.—33½ per cent of the vacancies.

Class III & IV.—40 per cent of the vacancies.

- (4) There should be a review of the situation after ten years.
- (5) A ministry for the advancement of the backward classes.
- (6) The future census must obtain information about caste.

Acharya Kalelkar after making these very good recommendations in the body of the Report, adulterated them with his suspicions and fears in the covering letter, apparently without the knowledge of the other members of the Commission. After declaring categorically that caste cannot be left out as the major factor to determine backwardness and listing the castes for every state, the Chairman goes on to say—"Families whose income is less than Rs. 800 a year do need special help irrespective of the community to which they belong. Such poor and deserving may even belong to the upper communities or the educationally backward but otherwise prosperous people of the dominant communities among the backward classes. The extreme poor cannot be denied special help simply

because they happen to belong to a particular Community”, (2) Kalekar failed to notice that Articles 39, 41 and 43 are meant for socialist measures to improve the lot of the poor.

If Kalekar's intention was to treat the poor as backward in addition to the castes listed by him, 95 per cent of the population would be backward, but that was not his intention. He desired to bring in the economic factor to destroy the caste factor with which the main report was primarily concerned. Kalekar admitted in his covering letter that “the words specifically used are ‘classes and sections’ of the people, and not ‘castes’; and yet as explained in the body of the Report the word ‘sections and classes’ can in the present context mean nothing but castes and no other interpretation is feasible.” But as the Chairman alleges they were warned “by well-wishers of the country that investigations into caste may encourage people to be caste-conscious and thus increase the atmosphere of communalism.” However, the Chairman adds, “Following the analogy of the proverb, viz., ‘using the thorn to remove the thorn’, we held that the evils of caste could be removed by measures which could be considered in terms of caste alone.” (3)

After affirming this realistic approach, he stumbles and says, “But we cannot be oblivious to the dangers to the solidarity of the country. Communalism and casteism are bound to destroy the unity of the nation and narrow down the aspirations of our people. And finally he shatters the recommendations by telling the President of India, “let us therefore, try to find criteria of backwardness that could eschew ideas of caste or class.” (4)

It is strange that Kalekar should misunderstand the terms of reference. It asks for (a) identifying sections of the people who should be treated as socially and educationally backward classes and (b) to investigate the conditions of such sections. Here the word ‘section’ and ‘classes’ can never mean individuals. It can only mean groups of people bound together by ties of race, religion, kinship, endogamy, and custom as an identifiable independent unit in society. Unless the backwards are correlated to units like castes and communities, there will be no question of listing them. The poor cannot be listed. Between doubts and confusions, the Commission says “The most difficult part of our work was the classification of communities into the category of Other Backward Classes. We have taken into consideration the social position which a community occupies in the caste hierarchy, the percentage of literacy and its general educational advancement and its representation in Government service or in the industrial sphere.” (5) In this definition the Commission came very near the truth but was not prepared to adhere to it.

Part XVI of the Constitution is captioned “Special provisions relating to Certain Classes.” The very first Art. in this Part refers to (a) the Scheduled Castes, (b) the Scheduled Tribes. The other articles in this Part also speak about castes and tribes as synonymous with classes. Thereafter Art. 340 speaks of socially and educationally backward classes, which by no stretch of imagination can mean individual poor persons, or poor families. The limitation under Art. 340 is that these classes or endogamous

hereditary kinship groups of people identifiable as castes by custom, must be socially and educationally backward as a whole. A few rich persons or a few educated persons in that group or caste or class cannot make that unit forward. Art. 15(4) is worded exactly like Art. 340.

Criteria for Backward Classes

Now who are the backwards in the context of Indian society and the spirit of the Constitution? It is never difficult to identify the backward class provided one has the will and the desire to identify the class. The people who were treated as backward classes before the commencement of the Constitution are the very people who are backward after independence. The backward classes cannot change their criteria after the Constitution, nor can any Commission or the judiciary try to find a different and mischievous criteria for the said classes. Almost all the South Indian States had made reservations for the backward classes before independence. Those are the classes referred to in the constitution. They were never before identified as poor people or the workers or peasants. They were all classified on the basis of the social caste strata in the infamous Hindu hierarchical caste system coupled to their poor educational attainments and inadequate representation in the public service. Another test is to note the category of people that attend backward class meetings or conferences. The Brahmin never attends such gatherings except as an observer or a pressman. Foreign sociologists are able to easily and unequivocally identify and define the backward class man in India.

It is only the high caste lawyers and judges who have purposely designed not to see him in the low caste garb as that would seriously affect their traditional monopoly and privileges.

Andre Beteille, a noted sociologist with an objective approach has unambiguously defined the term. "In every complex society" he says, "there are individuals who may be considered as economically or educationally backward; generally such people have also a low social status. However, backwardness as understood in the Indian context has a number of distinctive features. Firstly, it is viewed as an attribute not of individuals but of certain clearly defined social segments in which membership is generally acquired by birth; thus, the Backward Classes may in theory include individuals who are highly advanced both educationally and economically. Secondly, membership of the Backward Classes entitles one to certain advantages specifically conferred by the Government." (6) Beteille goes on to add, "In reality the Backward Classes are not classes at all, but aggregates of closed status groups. One's economic position is not a determining factor in one's membership of the backward class; rather, membership is determined generally by birth." (7)

Andre Beteille further clarifies by warning, "It may on a first examination appear tempting to restructure the definition of the backward classes and to view their problems principally in economic terms. This would, however, divert attention from the specific nature of backwardness in Indian society. In the first place, the

backward classes are by no means homogeneous economically. Secondly, the backward classes as officially viewed are a part and parcel of modern Indian social and political reality. They are a product of forces which are in many ways unique and distinctive of Indian history. Their identity does not derive solely or even primarily from common economic experience but from their very nature of the traditional system of stratification to which economic political and ritual factors have contributed in various ways.” (8)

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Backward Classes are therefore, castes which are low in the hierarchic caste scale. They are broadly the whole lot of the intermediate Shudra caste people. Narrowly they are other than the economically dominant upper Shudra castes. By no stretch of the imagination can Brahmins or Vaishyas, though poor or uneducated can be brought into the category of Backward Classes through the illogical economic factor. What is true of the Brahmins will be true of the dominant major Shudra castes.

As opposed to foreign Sociologist's objective view free from prejudices and prepossessions, let me quote the definition of an Indian Sociologist, Shri M. N. Srinivas. “The criteria of literacy, land ownership and income in cash or grain, should be able to subsume all cases of backwardness.” (9). One cannot avoid the conclusion that the criteria suggested here is in general the opinion of the upper caste people, who detest any restraint on their monopoly and privileges; and if there is to be any restraint, they would prefer it on economic basis as that would mainly help the poorer individuals in the upper castes. In any competition for favours, the influence, patronage, and the economic and educational strength of the relatives of the poor upper caste man will be brought to bear, on the favour sought for and the chances of the poor of the really backward class will be totally destroyed. The influence that a poor Brahmin or Lingayat or Vokkaliga will command will stand no comparison whatever to the position of the poor Thigala or Agasa or Kumbara.

Backward Classes and Judiciary

Strange as it may seem, the contradictions and confusions found in Kalelkar Report are also to be noticed in the judgment of the Supreme Court in *Balaji Vs. State of Mysore* (AIR SC 1963-549). In the earlier part of the judgment, it said, “In dealing with the question as to whether any class of citizens is socially backward or not, it may not be irrelevant to consider the caste of the said group of citizens. In this connection, it is, however, necessary to bear in mind that the special provision is contemplated for classes of citizens and not for individual citizens as such, and so, though caste of the group of citizens may be relevant, its importance should not be exaggerated.” This correct approach is immediately followed by the remarks, “If the classification of backward classes was based solely on the caste of the citizens, it may not always be logical and may perhaps contain the vice of perpetuating the castes themselves.” The apprehension felt by Kalelkar is echoed here.

The case before the Supreme Court was reservation of seats and posts for the backward castes and not perpetuation or liquidation of

the caste system. Upliftment of weaker sections through reservations and concessions have been expressly provided for in the constitution. The destruction of caste is neither the object of the Constitution, nor a policy of the Government or of any political party. Untouchability has been abolished by Art. 17, but the untouchables as a caste has not been abolished. All that Art. 17 permits is that the untouchable can legally touch and be touched. At best he is raised to Sudhra status and no more. It was, therefore, not the duty of the Supreme Court to address itself to the problem of caste consciousness. Great saints and Mahatmas have failed down the ages to destroy caste. Pious wishes, idealistic platform platitudes, judicial obiterdicta take us nowhere.

In spite of the initial correct approach, the judgment concludes on the wrong economic basis by ruling, "If the State Government has decided to afford financial assistance, and make necessary grants to students seeking higher education, where it is shown that the annual income of their families is below a prescribed minimum, it may afford relief to and assist the advancement of the backward classes in the State, because backwardness, social and educational, is ultimately and primarily due to poverty."

This wrong and illegal identification of the backward class man as the poverty stricken individual below a certain income had unfortunately been accepted by the Government of Mysore and worked upon for the last twelve years, and it has inflicted untold hardship and denial of opportunities to the really backward classes. The definition of the backward class as the poor has been made with the definite motive of helping the upper castes to maintain and strengthen the status quo of the traditional set-up with some benefits to the upper strata of the Sudhra class and Muslims and Christians. Owing to this unjust economic theory for backwardness, the richer upper caste people have been able to monopolise almost the whole of the unreserved general pool of 50 per cent and the poorer section to take a lion's share in the reserved 30 per cent pool. It must be noted that the poor Brahmin is not the same as the poor Lingayat or Vokkaliga and a poor Lingayat or Vokkaliga is not the same as a poor Kuruba or a Poor Yadava, though the annual income of the parents of all these people may be the same. For instance a poor Brahmin or a poor Lingayat boy has enormous advantages derived from heredity and environment. A large number of his relatives and friends may be either rich or holding high position in government service or in the public life which combined to his higher intelligence will make him walk off with a seat or a post beating hollow the poor Kuruba or Yadava or Agasa. This is how during the last two decades it has been possible for the Brahmins, Lingayats and the Vokkaligas in Mysore State to monopolise the reserved quota. The poor backward class individual is not only economically poor, but also poor in influence, heritage, environment and resourcefulness and in consequence goes to the wall every time he is pitched against a poor Brahmin or a poor Lingayat. One cannot escape the conclusion that the Brahmin lawyers put forward this incorrect economic theory before the judiciary, and the judges accepted them with the sole object of helping the higher castes in both pools and depriving the really backward classes people of all opportunities. This wrong and unjust definition of the backward class requires to

be corrected immediately if there is to be social justice and the induction of the welfare state.

As against the rulings in Balaji's case, we have justice Hegde's statement in *D. G. Viswanath Vs. Government of Mysore* (AIR 1964 Mys. 132) "I agree with Sri Havanur that in addition to the occupation and poverty tests, the State should have adopted the 'caste' test as well as the residence test in making the Classification." He also stated, "I earnestly hope that soon the State will make a more appropriate classification lest its **bonafides** should be questioned." The Havanur Commission, it may be stated, will obtain no guidance from the confusing judgements of the judiciary. In fact the commission will get no assistance from the upper class spokesmen wherever placed.

It is also to be noted that the special provisions made for the Backward Classes have been watered down by arbitrarily treating the Clauses 4 in Arts. 15 and 16 as exceptions. Justice Gajendra-gadkar speaks of these clauses "as special provisions in the nature of an exception". It is nowhere stated so. These clauses begin with the phrase "nothing in this article" and are therefore independent, unlimited and uncontrolled by clause 1 in the same articles. They are actually meant to override the fundamental rights. Justice Subba Rao in his dissenting judgment (*Devadasan Vs. Union of India* AIR 1964) said, "The expression 'nothing in this article' is a legislative device to express its intention in a most emphatic way that the power conferred thereunder is not limited in any way by the main provision but falls outside it. It has not really carved out an exception, but has preserved a power untrammelled by the other provisions of the article." All that can be said now is that it takes time for the Supreme Court to correct its own errors if not remedied by the State in the meantime.

A misinterpretation put on the word 'any' in Arts. 15 (4) and 16 (4) has retarded the progress of the backward classes. The word 'any' certainly does not mean half or less than half. It can mean 'most' or 'all'. In the dissenting judgment of justice Subba Rao, quoted above, he says that "the word 'any' is of the widest amplitude and leaves the nature of the provision to be made by the State in its discretion, but limited for the reservation of appointments or posts." However, the limitation of reservation on all counts to less than 50 per cent prescribed by the Supreme Court, is contrary to the will of the legislature expressed through popular Governments. Prior to independence, reservations for backward classes of all categories extended to 75 per cent in Mysore, 85 per cent in Madras, 85 per cent in Andhra and 90 per cent in Kashmir. It looks as if a clear case has been made out for the amendment of the Constitution in order to make the meaning of the word 'any' absolutely clear.

Caste and Census

The Government of Free India thought that information about caste if obtained in the census operation would increase caste consciousness and increase conflicts and decided to omit them. Actually caste consciousness has enormously grown in India after independence, obviously because there is a feeling as explained above, that the Government is apathetic to the advancement of the backward classes. For one thing the government threw away the

Kalelkar report into the dustbin and made no alternative arrangements to reserve posts for them. Secondly, the Supreme Court struck down the liberal reservations made on the correct caste basis for all sections of the people irrespective of forward and backward classification. The backwards are as far away from the Central administrative services as they are from the moon. While the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are assured of 20 per cent representation, the Backward Hindus who constitute 60 per cent of the population are hardly able to secure 5 per cent in these higher services. Is it any wonder that caste consciousness has increased and more and more caste associations and conferences are coming into being to rouse political consciousness among them?

At any rate, the absence of information about caste in the census since 1941, has been a great handicap to the Backward Class Commissions working all over India. Having experienced difficulty in assessing the numerical strength, economic position, educational standard and other details of the backward castes, Kalelkar wrote in his covering letter, "We have recommended that the next census should give all the necessary information about caste and sub-castes. It would certainly be a valuable material for the sociologists and the anthropologists. Social reformers will profit by it." Having said this, the Chairman proceeds to say, "But a lurking suspicion is asserting itself in my mind; can we do it?" By way of reinforcing his suspicion and making the earlier recommendation in the body of the Report nugatory, Kalelkar adds, "Can census officers force the citizen to give information which he is not prepared to volunteer? Can census authorities prevent a man from giving his caste according to his concept? Even a Brahmin may elect to be a Shudra. Can a secular government force a citizen to belong or not to belong to a particular caste? Thus the confusion and anarchy of opinion about all communal matters is going to make the work of the next census well nigh impossible." (10)

It will be seen how unfounded suspicions, exaggerated ideas, imaginery difficulties, that never plagued the Census operations during the British regime, have been paraded to kill the recommendation made in the body of the Report. Is it any wonder that the government took the suspicions seriously and never chose to implement the recommendation for caste census so far? The contradictions in the Kalelkar report made the report useless but harmed the backward classes immensely.

It is interesting to note that the contradictions and confusions in Kalelkar report were taken to the notice of the High Court. Justice K. S. Hegde, has remarked in *Viswanath Vs. Government of Mysore* (AIR 1964, Mys. 132) "Mr. Havanur next took us to the covering letter of Kaka Kalelkar, the Chairman of the Backward Classes Commission. He pointed out to us the glaring inconsistencies between the recommendations made by the majority of the Commission including Kaka Kalelkar and those made behind the back of the Commission in his covering letter."

Casteless Society and Reservations

Whatever may be the criteria for identifying backward classes and whatever may be the quantum of reservation, two fundamental

objections are frequently raised in the high caste Press to the principle of reservation itself.

The first is that when the Constitution and the nation are pledged to create a casteless society, reservations on caste basis will only perpetuate caste consciousness and delay or destroy the creation of a casteless society. Nobody knows where this great pledge is to be seen. The Constitution abolished untouchability but not caste division as such. The untouchable may become a touchable and no more. There is no provision in the Constitution to abolish caste, not even a suggestion in the Directive Principles: It is true, however, that Jawaharlal Nehru tried to read between the lines. While interpreting the Constitution, Nehru declared in 1951, "After all, the whole purpose of the Constitution, as proclaimed in the directive principles, is to move towards what I may call a casteless and classless society. It may not have been said precisely in that way; but that is, I take it, its purpose, and anything that perpetuates the present social and economical inequalities is bad." (11)

There is no programme with any political party to abolish caste. No plan has been suggested by any politician. The Hindus are divided broadly and openly into two groups by the cross thread. This sinister division of the people as indicative of high and low caste is shamelessly exposed in river banks, temples, sports ground, and nobody has thought of abolishing this divisions so as to make the Hindu look as one at least in appearance. Mahatma Gandhi once declared that he will wear what is common to all Hindus, meaning the tuft as a religious symbol, but discard what is uncommon, meaning the cross thread as a caste symbol. Nobody followed his example. The fact is, there is no desire anywhere to destroy caste, but there is some glib talk on public platforms.

The sovereign weapon to destroy caste is intercaste marriage provided it is made universal. Marriage in one's own caste must be made prohibitive; but it is impossible. No government can compel a man to give up caste or live in caste. But social and economic compulsions can be created to enable the youth to launch into exogamy. "The religious caste complex has become so deep-rooted that it is not easy for any caste-group to get away from its strong grip" says the Kalelkar report. It further adds, "The social differences of caste have become so firm in the mind of the Hindu, that he regards them as natural. The two important elements in the Hindu caste system are endogamy and hierarchy. The desire to keep themselves pure is responsible for the rigid observance of endogamy. The feeling of superiority or inferiority has resulted in caste hierarchy."

The worst feature of caste is its hierarchy; otherwise it has some good attributes. "For the majority of Hindus," says Bailey, "caste is the sphere within which morality operates. It is chiefly caste which checks vice and keeps up the standard of propriety, particularly some among the lower castes. Take away the caste of the man, and you destroy the basis of his virtues." (12)

Writing about the state of affairs in South India, Abbe Dubois wrote in 1820 in his monumental classic; "One would be justified

in asserting that it is to caste distinctions that India owes the preservation of her arts and industries. Hindus are as much, may be even more attached to their caste than the gentry of Europe are to their rank." (13) I may say here, that arts and industries have flourished in the west and the far east not governed by caste as we know it.

As caste in India cuts across class, there is little chance here for communism or revolution. That a strong caste feeling cuts across political parties has been found in our elections. "The varna-dharma", says B. G. Gokhale, "expressed a pyramidal society with each layer fixed and immovable thus making social revolution virtually impossible." (14)

The caste system has been reinforced and sanctified by divine sanction and people have taken to it as part of karma and natural order. "It is evident", says the great historian Arnold Toynbee, "that this impact of religiosity on the institution of caste must have seriously aggravated the banefulness of the institution. Caste is always on the verge of being a social enormity, but, when it is keyed up by receiving a religious interpretation and a religious sanction, its enormity is bound to grow to monstrous proportions." He further writes to add, "In the actual event the impact of religion on caste in India has begotten the unparalleled social abuse of untouchability and there has never been any effective movement to abolish or to mitigate untouchability on the part of the Brahmins, the hierarchic caste which has become master of the ceremonies of the whole system." (15)

Being objective observers, European sociologists are easily able to see how religion has been responsible for backwardness of the lower castes. Max Weber observes that "the relatively low social status and correspondingly low standard of living of the Hindu masses has, to some extent, religious causes." (16)

The western concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity are not only alien commodities to the Hindu; they are definitely hostile to him. Hinduism without caste is a contradiction in terms. Our Gods also wear the caste symbol. Indeed, M. N. Srinivas has neatly put it when he says, "If and when caste disappears, Hinduism will also disappear." (17) But this may be an extreme view, for, it is possible for Hinduism to live without hierarchic caste. Caste will lose all its meaning when inequality disappears. Hence we have Mahatma Gandhi's statement. "The caste system as we know, is an anachronism. It must go if both Hinduism and India are to live." It has already been proved that Hinduism will not die even after vast changes. Western habits, intercaste dining, heterodox manners, diluted vegetarianism, cropped heads, bare foreheads, threadless chests, changed diet, ignorance of sanskrit, cigarette smoking and beer drinking, sleeveless jackets and bell bottoms, and unshaven nosering widows have all made the modern Hindu a cosmopolitan in outdoor life without making him lose his Hindu character and his caste identity. Democracy and adult franchise, socialist and rationalist ideas are slowly having their effect and must transform the people in good time. Caste may not go but the inequality in it will and must go. If therefore a casteless society

is impossible, we must be content to live in a plural society in which the various sections shall be equal but separate. In such circumstances, the only sane solution to usher in the welfare state, is proportional representation and reservation.

In spite of all the handicaps for national unity, intercaste marriages are taking place in ever larger numbers. But they will not become a universal practice and people cannot be compelled into it. The view that inter-caste marriages will also not destroy caste divisions has been put forward. It is said that the children of intercaste marriages will adhere to the language and religion and caste of the father or the mother according to the pull exerted by one or the other under the environment in which the family may be placed. This may be true, but the situation will be vastly different from what it was when such marriages were condemned as anuloma and pratiloma.

Social and economic compulsions may be created to encourage intercaste marriages. Proportional reservation is one such. When the upper castes find that their opportunities are limited to their small strength in the population and when the limitation is found in the caste, the youth of the upper castes may first, break the barrier and launch into exogamy. The Tamilnadu Government has instituted gold medals to all those who get into intercaste marriages. The Government has defined inter-marriages as one between the caste Hindu and the Harijan. But I feel that the policy must be more liberal. The courage required to marry outside the sub-caste but within the same caste, is about the same courage and conviction required to marry clean outside the varna. It would be good even to encourage marriage between the sub-castes, for example between an Aiyar and an Ayyangar, and between a Gowda and a Kuruba. The Kerala Government is giving cash grants for all inter-caste marriages when the parties are poor. When we spend several crores for family planning, why should we not spend an equal amount to encourage inter-caste marriages and begin the destruction of the evil. If there is the will, the way will be found easily.

Anyway, it is necessary to find an avenue to absorb people marrying outside the caste and outside the religion and their children in the opportunities offered by the government. To begin with, it is suggested that 10 per cent of the jobs be reserved for such people. A casteless person could be defined as one who has given up all peculiar caste habits that are needless and has shed all caste symbols like the Janivara and married outside his main caste.

The Merit Theory and Reservations

The second objection to any reservation is the merit theory. The theory that intellectual merit and efficiency should obtain precedence in all walks of life is dangerous and inappropriate. It is particularly inapt in an ancient society unequally divided by caste under historical and traditional circumstances. If only we stop to visualise the means adopted in olden times for a few top castes to acquire intellectual merit, a cold shudder will pass through our minds because of guilt conscience. It should not be forgotten that merit obtained by the few by deliberate denial of opportunities to the mass of the people

is not a thing to be proud of. The gulf between the heritage and environment of the upper castes and the heritage and environment of the backwards is poles apart. They admit of no comparison. What is more, comparison is cruel as well. I may not be wrong if I say that ill gotten merit is equivalent to stolen property.

Secondly merit is used for competition, exploitation and aggression. Merit may be of any kind and such merit may be of an individual, of a caste, and of a nation. There can be fair competition only between equals. Under unequal situations, the only way to uplift the backwards is by way of placing handicaps on the forward and concessions to the backward. A meritorious horse is placed under a handicap in races with less efficient horses. Tariffs in a backward or developing country are designed to give protection to a struggling indigenous industry that would otherwise collapse under efficient and meritorious foreign competition. What would happen to our automobile industry if the discriminative protective high tariff is lifted can easily be imagined. Similar will be the fate of every other Indian industry. Will anybody argue that all human beings are the children of one and the same God and that the different nations are only the varied manifestations of that supreme being and that therefore all are equal and there should be free trade and no tariffs. Merit is equivalent to the dead outmoded laissez-faire policy of the 19th Century.

Reservations for the backwards or developing classes or castes are in the nature of tariffs. It is said that property and education are the two eyes of civilised man. Take them away or deny them to any individual or a community, you convert that individual or community into servility. That is exactly what our hoary caste system has done for our backwards and untouchables for millenniums.

Thirdly there is a limit to merit and its use. Merit uncontrolled is cobra let loose, for it is used to exploit weaker people and enslave them and it is particularly pernicious if used on backward or divided people. Merit cannot be allowed to defeat the democratic principles of the modern State.

Pakistan was created to enable one hundred million Muslims in United India to escape Hindu merit and efficiency. Bangla Desh in turn was born to escape from West Pakistani merit. The Germans are acknowledged even by their enemies to be highly meritorious and efficient. Conscious of this fact, the Germans claimed themselves to be the Master Race destined to rule the world. It must be noted that the world had to fight the Germans in two world-wars at terrific cost just to save the world from German merit and efficiency.

Everyone is familiar with the language and other riots in Assam which were all staged to enable the Assamese to escape from Bengali merit. The tribesmen of Assam inhabiting the hilly areas agitated for and created autonomous Nagaland, Meghalaya and Mizoram, just to save themselves from both Assamese and Bengali merit. What is the trouble going on in Andhra Pradesh to-day? The Telengana people want to be freed from Andhra merit and the

Andhras say that unless they are allowed to use their merit on Telengana areas, they will not stay in United Andhra Pradesh. The struggle of the Arabs in West Asia is again a struggle against Jewish merit and efficiency.

Let us not forget that our freedom movement from 1885 was to free ourselves from British merit and efficiency. The British were talking of us as barbarians divided by caste and religion and unfit to rule ourselves. They thought that we were so backward that we had to be trained for "the progressive realisation of responsible government". Of all people the Brahmins of India were the most vehement to resent British merit and they did their best, to liberate India from that foreign merit and efficiency.

The tremendous social and political changes taking place in Black Africa is the result of the people's desire to rid themselves of European and Indian merit. The methods adopted by rulers like Idi Amin may be obnoxious, but the upsurge for freedom from foreign merit that got itself entrenched in days gone by when the people were backward and under foreign rule, is at the bottom of the movement.

Merit therefore cannot and should not be the sole, or even the main criteria for getting opportunities and favours from the government. Though the test of merit may be inappropriate on the whole population, it may be necessary within each reserved quota. The rule must be the best from each section and not the best from the whole. Let me quote Kaka Kalelkar himself. He says "The advanced communities should recognise the signs of the time and shed their sense of superiority and aloofness and monopolistic tendency. It is better, if new communities are allowed to try their hand at leadership. All monopoly must be broken even if it is fully justified and opportunities for service must be assured to all sections of the people." (18).

Proportional Representation

In the circumstances, fair distribution can be achieved only through representation according to population **for all Castes and Communities**. It must also be noted that it would not be possible to establish equality in Indian society without some conflicts and tensions and without affecting the privileged position of the upper castes. "It would be an illusion," says Louis Dumont, "to suppose that the castes could be abolished without bringing any affliction on the Brahmins. It is inevitable that they should suffer, perhaps unjustly, in the transformation Gandhi professed to desire, simply because they are at the summit of the hierarchy to be abolished." (19) What is true of Brahmins is also true of the dominant committees, or neo Brahmins as some would like to call them.

It can easily be stated that there is little chance of the privileged classes giving up their privileges voluntarily. There are no instances in history. There will be conflicts, tensions and fights to retain the privileges on the part of the upper castes and to acquire the privileges on the part of the downtrodden. We are already seeing signs of it in the villages. Tensions are more likely between the dominant castes amongst the backwards and the scheduled castes than between the Brahmins and the scheduled castes, for, the immediate oppressor is closer than the distant one. It is the painful duty of the State to

meet such situations as a concomitant of democracy and the march toward socialism.

In any reservation that is contemplated for the backwards, there is a desire on almost all the castes and communities to take the backward tag. Even the Brahmin archaka sub caste has come forward to claim the tag. According to the ruling in Balaji's case, the Muslims, Lingayats, and Vokkaligas have possibly no place in the backward list. But it may be very difficult to leave them out of it owing to the political strength of these communities and their legitimate feeling that they may not fare well in general competition on merit with the Brahmins and others. The solution is not to try to fit them into the narrow 32 per cent limit but to demand the reservation to be as high as 75 or 80 per cent as was the case before independence. After all, in the opinion of many jurists and politicians, the Balaji case rule of 50 per cent reservation is arbitrary and unrealistic. If and when the Lingayats and the Vokkaligas and the Muslims are left out from the meagre 32 per cent which is just sufficient for the 32 per cent really backwards, the only course open is for these communities to get the Constitution amended so that, the justice that obtained before 1950 may be brought back. When the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have received representation in proportion to their population, it is but right and legitimate for the other communities to demand proportional representation.

Some of the backward classes too low in the educational and economic levels may not be able to supply candidates for high offices requiring expertise. It may not also be possible to shut out merit at all levels. For the highest levels, merit combined with other factors, principally the factor to avoid monopoly to any one caste or community, may have to be allowed in the national interest. But this merit pool, open to all, must not exceed 10 per cent of the opportunities.

A reasonable distribution of seats and posts on population basis, so far as Karnataka State is concerned may be as below :—

General or merit pool	..	10
Casteless and religionless pool	..	10
Brahmins and Vaisyas	5% of 80 ..	4
Other forward castes	5% of 80 ..	4
Lingayats	15% of 80 ..	12
Vokkaligas	12% of 80 ..	9.6
Other backward castes	30% of 80 ..	24
Scheduled Castes	15% of 80 ..	12
Scheduled Tribes	30% of 80 ..	2.4
Muslims	10% of 80 ..	8
Christians	2% of 80 ..	1.6
Non-scheduled Hindus	3% of 80 ..	2.4
and others		—
	Total	100
		—

Similar distribution can be made in all other States with reference to the major and minor communities and castes in each State.

I am aware that the upper castes who constitute less than 10 per cent will not like this distribution. But I know that 90 per cent of the others will welcome this and would come forward to implement it by agitating for an amendment of the Constitution if the Executive and the Judiciary are indifferent to the popular demand. The proportional representation suggested is nothing new. As shown above, it was there in some form or other in almost all the southern States prior to independence.

The Government of India Act, 1935 under Art. 266(4) speaks of appointments being "allocated between the various communities in the Federation or a Province". In the same Act, under Art. 242, it is declared that "instructions may be issued by the Governor General for the purpose of securing, so far as practicable to each community in India, a fair representation in the railway services." Under Art. 53, provision was made for the issue of an Instrument of Instructions which in general continued. Instruction for recruiting to the services members from all the minority communities and the Scheduled Castes.

This fair democratic principle of representation according to population was not also absent from the makers of our Constitution to start with. In the draft Constitution of India prepared in 1948 after independence, seats in representative bodies (Art. 292) were reserved for Muslims and Indian Christians and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and under Art. 296, "the claims of all minorities" were recognised for appointments to services and posts of the Union and States. These provisions were filtered down during the later deliberations by interested or vested interest parties. In the Constitution of India itself seats have been reserved for Scheduled Castes and Tribes in proportion to their strength in the population under Arts. 330, 332 and 335. If the common man in India is not to complain that his interests were better protected under British rule than under Indian rule the induction of the principle of proportional reservation and representation is a desideratum and an urgent one. Reservation on population basis in spite of its curbs on the privileged few, is the only sane alternative to violent revolution. Levelling through reservations is the only peaceful means to achieve social equality in a civilised society. The conditions that obtained in ancient times when the vast majority of the people were kept in poverty, ignorance, indignity and inequality for the benefit and pleasure of the top few in the name of god, religion, and revealed scriptures, can no longer be perpetuated or re-created.

I shall conclude by quoting what Dr. B. R. Ambedkar said after the Constitution was passed and it was a warning which the leaders of India can neglect only at the peril of peaceful evolution".

"On January 25, 1950, we will have equality in politics, and inequality in social and economic life. We must remove this contradiction at the earliest moment, or else those who suffer from inequality will blow up the structure of political democracy which this Assembly has so labouriously built up."

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Sri B. P. Kadam,

Deputy Speaker, Mysore Legislative Assembly

For the purpose of our discussion, it will not be necessary to go into the details of the Varna system. It is my candid opinion that the Dravidians had a very high civilisation in India and there existed a caste system amongst them. The Aryans, when they entered the sub-continent, were un-civilised but were of superior prowess. They over-powered Dravidians and in that effort were largely influenced by the Dravidians. Such divisions in society did exist in the civilisations of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans. In India, the caste system was taken to the extreme by the Aryans. Dr. Ambedkar in his book "Who are the Shudras" has stated that the Shudras were within the Kshatriya Varna and there was a continuous feud between the Shudra kings and the Brahmins in which the Brahmins suffered many tyrannies and as a result, the Brahmins refused to perform Upanayana ceremony and the Shudras become socially degraded and fell below the rank of Vysyas as the fourth Varna.

Dr. Ambedkar in the same book says that excluding the untouchables, the Shudras form 75—80 per cent of the Hindu population.

There was a stage when the caste system was not rigid; it was flexible and elastic. Persons from one Varna freely mingled with others. They could interchange on account of learning ability. When Alexander invaded India and was actually pitched across the Jhelum he saw under a cover of night a large number of fires on the other side of the river Jhelum. He asked his intelligence people what exactly was the cause for the fires. He was informed that there was a caste system amongst Indians and they cooked separately. Alexander was thrilled at this and exclaimed "Oh an army like this divided by caste can easily be annihilated". Next day he marched crossing the Jhelum and met his first set back in his life "in his ambition of world domination" as Jawaharlal Nehru put it at the hands of King Purusha. As I said earlier caste system was not rigid at that time. Even after this Alexander during his other skirmishes on his way back met stiffest resistance; he could not inflame caste feelings, could not set up one caste soldiers or people against the other and realised that the caste system was not rigid and there was no hatred amongst the various castes.

It is after the advent of Buddhism, the caste barriers were broken. Buddhism was based on reason, mutual self-respect, love and service. Buddhism, rendered great service and as H. G. Wells in his "World History" has stated "it spread like the sound of a heavenly bell". But the seed of dissension and hatred was sown again by reviving Hinduism with all its inherent evils of the caste system.

It is true that the import of the word "Class" is wider than caste. But in a country like ours, the impact of caste system is so great that it cuts across all barriers. The dictionary meaning of the word "Caste" is "class of persons". Class is synonymous with caste for the purpose of our discussion. While speaking in support of the

first amendment of our Constitution by inserting Clause 4 to Art. 15, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Dr. Ambedkar have referred to the castes.

In Balaji case, the Supreme Court held that caste alone could not be the basis. Mr. L. G. Havanur has dealt with this case and also the judgment in Chitraleka's case. He argued in great detail that benevolent interpretation was necessary. I fully support his stand. It is my candid opinion that the provisions of Articles 15(4), 16(4) and 29(2) of the Constitution are for the uplift of the educational, social and economic backwardness of classes of people forming backward castes and sections. These provisions must be read with Article 46 of the Constitution which reads as follows :

“The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation”.

The living conditions of the backward classes comprising of so many castes are horrible. They have no status, being down-trodden and ignored by our advanced castes. They live a sub-human life without knowing whence they could get their next meal. They have no clothes and the condition of their women folk is horrible. The birth of a child is an occasion for grief and sorrow because there is nothing in the house for the mother as well as the new born child for sustenance. Jim Barbett, well known for his book “Man eaters of Kumaon” has also written a book “My India”. In this book he has described the condition of one Budhu who is a worker in his small charcoal manufacturing concern. This Budhu is bound as a slave for over a decade to help a money-lender during every reaping season for a small sum which his father borrowed. Every year this Budhu on receipt of a post card from the money-lender vanished to help him during the reaping season. When repeatedly interrogated with tears in his eyes, he narrated his suffering to Barbett and the latter has remarked that the suffering of Budhu is the suffering of millions in this country. One Marathi poet Amar Shaikh in his lovely vigorous and militant poem has described the suffering of these people. It is these people who work on the field and unmindful of the rain, winter and the hot sun, produce food and wealth which the elite enjoy; it is these people who help in collecting all the material for building luxurious houses and it is these people who have no land, nor assumed wages; no house of their own to live and rest peacefully. They starve if they have no wages.

In my opinion, in terming a caste as backward, the actual status of the caste as it is in our society must be considered. The backward castes being economically poor, have no social status in our society. The second test would be the percentage of education and employment in Government or industrial establishments. The employed must be in positions commanding status and not as mere peons. It may be possible that one or two individuals from these backward castes, on account of somebody's sympathy and support, may have been in a position to climb up the difficult ladder of competition but such solitary instances cannot speak of the status of the castes, as the solitary singing of a bird cannot make the spring.

I came across a book "Caste in changing India" by A. P. Barnabas and Subhash C. Mehta. In this book, the authors have been kind enough to extend a little sympathy for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; it seems to me they are helplessly extending this sympathy because provision was already made for protecting their interests by giving them representation. These authors are condemning the Government of India for introducing first amendment under which Clause 4 to Article 15 was inserted. They have been profusely quoting from newspapers to condemn the Government of Mysore which tried to protect the interests of the backward castes by legal battles in the Supreme Court, though eventually lost. These authors speak of administrative efficiency. At one stage, they grieve that the selection of candidates from the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and promotions given to them, have resulted in inefficiency in the administration. Such a thesis is hollow to its core. Apart from the percentage of marks, honesty and integrity count for efficiency in administration. Another theory advanced by the opulent few is that of trusteeship. I can only deal with this theory by quoting a recorded advice of a master to his serf. The master living in pomp in his luxurious house advised his serfs "You must be contented with the wages I pay; it is of no use living in big houses; you must stay in small huts, you can save your labour of sweeping and cleaning and if it has no enclosures like walls, you will have the pleasure of having air and light; even if you cannot have a small roof, you can live under a tree and enjoy free air and light and be one with nature; if you work under the hot sun, its rays will give you strength and resistance; it is no use eating much, for it invariably creates indigestion which upsets health and causes many disorders; you must work very faithfully without murmur; if you observe this code of conduct, you will be very well rewarded in your next life".

No less a person than Swami Vivekananda advocated selfless and dedicated service to the lower castes for creating a new social order. He wanted that educated advanced people should put their shoulders to the wheel. Late beloved Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru also stated that every educated man is a trustee to serve the backward and illiterate, but unfortunately very little has been achieved so far. It is our saddest experience that rather than helping the oppressed and suppressed to come forward, the advanced castes are throttling them. Swami Vivekananda remarked that social rejuvenation could emancipate the country. A social reformer Mahatma Jotiba Pule to whom Dr. Ambedkar had dedicated his book "Who were the Shudras?" believed that social democracy was more vital than independence. All this meant that independence from foreign rule would not solve the problems of the backward castes.

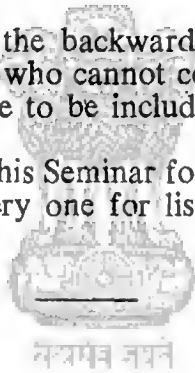
We have to solve this problem which has defied solution; we cannot shelve it. Those of us who belong to the advanced castes or have privileged positions in the social hierarchy must open our eyes and must have an unbiased look at the writing on the wall. It is a warning to every educated man, to every jurist, to our courts and law makers. In my opinion, as I stated earlier, the existing provisions in our Constitution, if benevolently interpreted, are quite adequate to serve the interest of the backward classes, by which I mean, the backward castes. Our Constitution

is a means to an end, not an end in itself. If it does not serve our social needs, it will have to be suitably amended. If we fail in our duty to wipe the tears from the faces of these oppressed and suppressed people who have been silently suffering under disabilities and living in no way better than animals, there is bound to be a terrific explosion which may blast the entire structure. We have to wash the sin of our forefathers and the only way to wash it is by selfless service with a dedicated missionary spirit. There is no time to be lost. The cause of national integration is sacred to us. How can there be national integration if vast sections of our people are labouring and suffering helplessly? This entire mass must be made to join the main stream of our national life by extending to them adequate share in administration and other means of production. They must be helped to hold their heads high with chest and chin forward as sons of this great and ancient country. Unless we make them join us, the country cannot march forward. Only then India can expect to have a glorious place amongst the nations of the world.

The theory of inter-caste marriage as a means of national integration is more humorous than reasonable. Inter-caste marriages are bound to come about amongst people of equal status based on economic and cultural standards. This is a evolutionary step which cannot be forced by law, nor by teaching. This will take a long time.

Finally, let me add that the backward castes in other religions like Muslims and Christians who cannot come up on their own without state's support will have to be included.

I thank the organisers of this Seminar for giving me an opportunity to participate. I thank every one for listening to me so patiently.



Justice K. R. Gopivallabha Iyengar,
Judge, High Court of Mysore (Retd.)

It is recognised that the determination of the "Backward Classes" is a very complex, complicated and vexed question. The 1955 report of the Backward Classes Commission headed by Kaka Kalelkar and the several decisions referred to in Sri L. G. Havanur's Book, recognise this fact. They have made enormous efforts to solve the problem. The several aspects bearing on this question have been discussed in the Report and the series of discussions referred to in the book of Sri Havanur. The decision of the Supreme Court of India delivered by a bench consisting of Chief Justice B. P. Sinha, Justice P. B. Gajendragadkar, Wanchoo, Dasgupta and J. C. Shah in the Balaji's case, the decision of the Supreme Court reported in AIR 1964 1723 in Chitralkha's case (B. P. Sinha C.J., K. Subba Rao, Raghubir Dayal, Rajagopala Iyengar, Mudholkar JJ) and the decision of the Mysore High Court by Justice K. S. Hegde and Ahmed Ali Khan reported in AIR Mys. 132 of 1964 have discussed this problem in great detail. Before I advert to the implication of the above decisions I invite your attention to the underlying objective of our Constitution. "Our Constitution envisages the establishment of a society in which all communities are unified into a homogeneous whole, make every member feel that he is a citizen of this great country, feel that he is a part and parcel not merely of a family, a clan or a community, not merely a part of a section of Hindu society which is limited, but a most important part of the nation as a whole. The solidarity of all classes and all communities is the aim of our constitution. The work has begun, but it will take a long time to make this reform effective and universal." This is what the Chairman Sri Havanur has stated in his Book on Backward Classes. I entirely agree with the above said views. But the next question will be whether the determination of backward classes on the basis of caste would yield any result in achieving the solidarity contemplated above.

With regard to castes it is pertinent to note what Mahatma Gandhi has stated. He said, "The caste system as we know, is an anachronism. It must go if both Hinduism and India are to live and grow from day to day. I have frequently said that I do not believe in caste in the modern sense. It is an excrescence and an hardship on progress. Assumption of superiority by any person over another is a personal sin against god and man. The caste in so far as it connotes distinctions in statuses is an evil". (Quoted from Sri Havanur's Book). Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru echoed the same sentiments when he said, "The conception and practice of castes embody the aristocratic ideal and are obviously opposed to democratic conceptions. . . . In the context of society to-day the caste system and much that does with it are wholly incompatible, reactionary restrictive and barriers to progress. There can be no equality in status and opportunity within its framework, nor can there be political democracy and much less economic democracy. Between these conceptions conflict is inherent and only one of them can survive". (Quoted from Sri Havanur's Book). Therefore it is clear that if we accept these statements as embodying the view of a large majority of

Indians the caste system must be abolished. That this should be done is not only in national interests but also in our international interests in as much as our country must not get divided on the basis of castes or communities but must be forged into an integrated homogeneous body of people without any organised religion playing any part in the body politic of this country. Sri Havanur has made a very great effort to equate the "Classes" used in the several relevant provisions of the Constitution with the word "Castes". This attempt even if I take is as successful serves no purpose as in my view identifying "Class" with "Caste" is to put the clock back and perpetuate the anachronism which Mahatma Gandhi said must go if India is to live and grow from day to day. It is pertinent to note that this question of caste did not arise during the national struggle. Nobody ever bothered whether a particular national leader was a member of a particular caste or other. They recognised everyone of them as an Indian first and an Indian last. There is no reason why we should not entertain the same attitude now that we are engaged in a greater struggle, namely the development of the nation as a whole to occupy a place of prestige in the comity of nations.

Religion is no doubt protected in our constitution but at the same time no distinction can be made on the basis of religion, caste or sex. Therefore, religion which is protected must be confined to the individual and should not spread its tentacles to public service or institutions. As a result of the great reform movements initiated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Dayananda Saraswati, Ramakrishna Paramahansa, Swami Vivekananda, and Mahatma Gandhi, to mention a few famous names, caste distinctions are fast disappearing and it is a matter of common knowledge that even caste appellations and marks are being abandoned so that it is difficult to know by the name of a person to which caste he belongs. The reforms must be accentuated so that caste distinctions will die out completely. It may be said that this reform movement does not percolate to the villages. The responsibility to avoid this contingency is on the social workers and also on the Government to educate the people in this regard. This will not in any manner be helped by equating classes with castes, thus perpetuating the venom that is disappearing. By merely giving preferences to backward classes on the basis of the caste to which one belongs through legislative or executive measures will start a competition amongst people belonging to several castes to vie with one another claiming to be backward or more backward. This is most unhealthy. The attempt should be to efface the superiority complex or the inferiority complex that pervades the individual to whichever caste or community one may belong. Social intercourse would necessarily follow this achievement. We should not be in a hurry. It is also a fact that the problem of backwardness is intimately related with poverty and illiteracy. Every effort must be and is being made to remove poverty. As Mr. G. Narayana, the illustrious President of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat has been repeatedly saying, the penacea for the ills of backwardness is education and steps as suggested by him should be taken up from home to home in all parts of the country, particularly the rural parts so as to enable the people to cast away the ghost of backwardness that inhibits them. I do not ignore the fact that there are several sections in our society which are

backward and the members of which cannot compete with those who have the advantage of being forward. But the determination of the backward classes on the basis of caste is a retrograde step. This has been recognised in the three decisions that I have referred to earlier. After considering almost all aspects bearing on this question and keeping in view the long range aim of our founding fathers, the Supreme Court has laid down the principles in AIR 1963 SC 649. This decision has been followed in several subsequent decisions. It may be useful to refer to the judgment of Justice K. Subba Rao in AIR 1964 SC 1923 in which His Lordship makes the following valuable observations. Referring to the several relevant provisions of the Constitution His Lordship observes "These provisions recognise the factual existence of backward classes in our country brought about by historical reasons and make a sincere attempt to promote the welfare of the weaker sections thereof. They shall be so construed as to effectuate the said policy but not to give weightage to progressive sections of our society under the false colour of caste to which they happen to belong. The important factor to be noticed in Art. 15(4) is that it does not speak of 'Castes' but only speaks of 'Classes'. If the makers of the Constitution intended to take 'Castes' also as units of social and educational backwardness, they would have said so as they have said in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Though it may be observed that the widest expression "Classes" is used in clause (4) of Art. 15 as there are communities without castes, if the intention was to equate classes with castes nothing prevented the makers of the constitution to use the expression "Backward Classes or Castes. The juxtaposition of the expression "backward classes" and "Scheduled Castes" in Art. 15(4) also leads to a reasonable inference that the expression "Classes" is not synonymous with "Castes". It may be that for ascertaining whether a particular citizen or a group of citizens belong to a backward class or not, his or their caste may have some relevance, but it cannot be either the sole or the dominant criterion for ascertaining the class to which he or they belong". Further his lordship observes "but what we intend to emphasize is that under no circumstance a "class" can be equated to a "Caste" though the caste of an individual or a group of individuals may be considered along with other relevant factors in putting him in a particular class." It may further be stated that Justice Mudholkar who gave a dissenting Judgement in the above cited case observed "I would only say this that it would not be in accordance either with Cl. (1) of Art. 15 or Cl. (2) of Art. 29 to require the consideration of the castes of persons to be borne in mind for determining what are socially and educationally backward classes. It is true that Cl. (4) Art. 15 contains a non-obstante clause with the result that power conferred by that clause can be exercised despite the provisions of Cl. (1) of Art. 15 and Cl. (2) of Art. 29. But that does not justify the inference that castes have any relevance in determining what are socially and educationally backward communities. As my learned brother has rightly pointed out the Constitution has used in Cl. (4) the expression 'Classes' and not 'Castes'.

Therefore, it appears to me that the only satisfactory way in which we can arrive at the backward classes is to proceed upon the basis

laid down in 1963 SC 649 i.e., Balaji's case and improve upon it without reference to any "Caste". The observations of Chief Justice Wanchoo in AIR 1968 SC 1012 "But it must not be forgotten that a caste is also a class of citizens and if the caste as a whole is socially backward reservation can be made in favour of such a caste on the ground that it is a socially and educationally backward class of citizens within the meaning of Art. 15(4)" does not make any difference in the norms laid down in Balaji's case. In fact reliance is placed on Balaji's case.

To distribute preferences on the basis of castes would inevitably amount to depriving the advantages to the members of the other castes. This would produce antagonism between one community and another and mutual hostility and disintegrate our society and degrade our country. This would develop a resistance resulting in crystalization of castes which would poison and weaken our society. This at any cost should be avoided.

It is quite likely that the present backward classes desire quick results in the improvement of their position. We cannot forget that the problem that is to be eradicated is a long standing one and warrants patient efforts to eradicate the anachronism in our society.

In considering the backward classes we cannot forget that women are a class by themselves, a majority of whom would be backward irrespective of the race, caste or community they may belong and preferences are to be provided for them on the basis of their sex. This also requires serious attention in determining as to who should be included amongst backward classes among them. This problem will be as complicated if not more complicated than merely solving the problem of backward members of the male sex.

The basis on which it would be reasonable to proceed to classify backward classes should be principles enunciated in Balaji's case as approved in the subsequent decisions. The norms there laid down are applicable to all the backward classes in communities other than Hindus. Further the question relating to backward classes being an All-India one it must be tackled with a national outlook. Therefore the remedy suggested should not make the malady worse. As I stated in the earlier part of this talk the problem of backward classes is complex and requires a thorough investigation without giving vent to passion and always keeping in view the national and international interests of our country.

Justice K. S. Hegde,

Former Judge, Supreme Court of India

One of the greatest draw-backs in our social structure is the existence of caste system dividing the society according to status and rank. Whatever might have been the origin of the caste system, it has given rise to various gradations in the society which in its turn has resulted in social inequality and discrimination. The two important elements in the caste system are endogamy and hierarchy. These elements have tended to create a feeling of superiority and inferiority. They have also fostered narrow loyalties. The caste system and consequent social discrimination are not compatible with a democratic society. These social gradations have created economic and educational disparities. The caste system among the Hindus had its repercussions, to an extent, on other religious groups also. With a view to remove those contradictions in our national life and to re-shape our society on democratic lines the Constitution directed the State under Article 46 'to promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation'. Detailed provisions are made in Part XVI of the Constitution to protect some of the weaker sections. Article 340 empowers the President to appoint a Commission to investigate the conditions of socially and educationally backward classes and the difficulties under which they labour and to make recommendations as to the steps that had to be taken by the State to remove such difficulties and improve their conditions. Article 15(1) prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. But sub-Art. (4) of that Article says: 'Nothing in this Article or in clause (2) of Article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any **Socially and Educationally backward classes of citizens** or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes'. Article 16 provides for equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. But sub-Art. (4) thereof permits the State to make provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the State is not adequately represented in the services under the State.

There is controversy as regards the meaning of the expression "backward class of citizens". Some contended that the word 'class' in that expression refers to an organised section of a society based on status or rank a section which in some respects have a social code of its own. They emphasise the fact that under Article 15(4) a special provision has to be made only to socially and educationally backward classes, the two conditions being cumulative. According to them, that provision does not taken into consideration the economic backwardness. Economic disparities are sought to be remedied by various other provisions in the Constitution. Economic disparity exists in almost all the countries in the world but the division of society on the basis of status or rank is something

peculiar to this country and it is that problem that is sought to be remedied under Articles 340 and 15(4). Before a 'class' can seek the protection of Article 15(4) or the assistance under Article 340 it must be shown that that 'class' is "socially and educationally backward". Social backwardness of a 'class' depends on the social status of that 'class' in the society. For finding out that class, poverty test or occupational test has no relevance. A man may be poor even though his social status may be very high. On the other hand, some contend that though the 'caste' is a 'class', as the Constitution has used both the expressions 'caste' as well as 'class' the 'caste' cannot be considered as the sole basis for determining the 'class'. In my view, this contention is not well founded. Taking into consideration the historical background of the relevant provisions, the purposes intended to be served by them and the opinions expressed during the debates in the Constituent Assembly there can be no doubt that the expression 'class' in Article 15(4) as well as in Article 340 denotes a well-knit and organised section of the society based on status or rank, and not any classification made by the State on diverse considerations. The Constitution-makers evidently used the expression 'Class' in preference to the expression 'caste' because the expression 'caste' can take in only Hindu communities, whereas the expression 'class' can also take in social groups based on status or rank whatever their religion may be. In my opinion, social backwardness of any class of Hindus cannot be decided except on the basis of 'caste' or 'sub-caste'.

In **Smt. Champakam Dorairajan's Case (1)*** the distribution of seats in the Medical and Engineering Colleges among the various communities under a Government Order passed by the Madras Government was held to be invalid both by the High Court as well as by the Supreme Court as the same contravened Article 29(2) of the Constitution. This decision was rendered before sub-Article (4) of Article 15 was incorporated into the Constitution. In fact, the necessity for the incorporation of Article 15(4) arose because of the decision in **Smt. Champakam Dorairajan's case**.

In **Balaji's case (2)*** the Supreme Court ruled that the Backward Classes for whose improvement special provision is contemplated by Art. 15(4) are in the matter of their backwardness comparable to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Their backwardness must be both social and educational and not either social or educational. These observations proceed on the basis that the 'classes' mentioned in Art. 15(4) refer to the existing organised sections of the society, and not any new groupings of individuals. But the judgment does not stop there. Proceeding further it says that if the classification of backward classes of citizens was based solely on the caste of the citizens, it may not always be logical and may perhaps contain the vice of perpetuating the castes themselves. This observation appears to be a broad one and has given rise to conflicting interpretations. It may be correct to say that the expression 'class' in Art. 15(4) is wider than the expression 'caste', because it takes in all sections of the society whatever their religious persuasion may be. But in deter-

*(1) AIR 1951 S.C. 2266.

*(2) AIR 1963 S.C. 649.

mining the social backwardness of any section of the Hindus, the only criterion can be the 'caste' or the 'sub-caste'. For that purpose the occupation of the individual concerned is irrelevant. As observed by the Backward Classes Commission, the occupation of an individual does not change his social status. A Brahmin by doing a tailor's job does not become a tailor by caste: nor does he lose his social status if he deals in shoes. The social status of a person is determined in this country by the social group in which he is born. It is because of that reason our Constitution-makers were anxious to protect the socially and educationally backward classes. The legal position is to an extent clarified in **Rajendra's case**.^{*} (3) Therein, the Supreme Court ruled that a caste is also a class of citizens and if the caste as a whole is socially and educationally backward, reservation can be made under Art. 15(4) in favour of such a caste.

The problem of the socially backward classes of citizens like that of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes is a complex one. One has to approach the problem of the backward classes with sympathy and understanding. It is true that our national interest requires that merit should be given its due place but we must be also alive to the fact that there can be neither stability nor real progress in this country if some sections of the nation live in primitive conditions, having no share in the good things of life, while power and wealth is confined in the hands of only a few and the same is used for the benefit of the community to which they belong. It is dangerous to be blind to the appalling conditions of many sections of the people. It cannot be denied that unaided many sections of the people who constitute the majority in this State cannot compete with the advanced sections of the people, who today have the monopoly of education and consequently have predominant representation in Government services as well as in other important walks of life. It is cynical to suggest that the interest of the nation is best served if the barber continues to be a barber and a shepherd continues to be a shepherd. The limitation of the doctrine of laissez faire is now well known. We have decided to establish a Welfare State. Social justice is an important ingredient of a Welfare State. That goal cannot be reached if we over-emphasise the 'merit theory'. For the safety as well as the progress of this Nation, this country should not be allowed to remain half-backward and half-advanced.

I am not unaware of the fact that the problem is a very complex one and it does not admit of any easy answer. It certainly calls for a balancing of the immediate requirements of the Nation with its long range interests. Both are equally important. It is unfair to adopt a sectional approach in these matters and that more particularly by the advanced sections of the people. The problem before us is essentially a human problem. Amongst the members of the backward sections of the people there is an urge for equal status and equal position. This feeling must be appreciated though it calls for some sacrifice on the part of the advanced sections of the people. Prudence lies in having foresight and yielding to the inevitable. Social justice is an essential part of our Constitutional programme. Political freedom and even fundamental rights can have little meaning

^{*}(3) AIR 1968 S.C. 1012.

or significance for the backward classes and the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, unless their backwardness and inequality from which they suffer are immediately redressed. The preamble to our Constitution reminds us that our goal is to secure to all its citizens justice, social, economic and political; equality of status and opportunity and promote among the citizens of this country fraternity, assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation. Advantages secured due to historical reasons cannot be considered as Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Nation's interest will be best served—taking a long range view—if the backward classes are helped to march-forward and take their place in line with the advanced sections of the people. Feudalism, in any form whatsoever is incompatible with democratic way of life.

Special reservations are apt to become vested interests in the long run. This danger must be guarded against. Further those reservations should not unduly impinge on our national interest. Hence I suggest the following safeguards:—

1. the reservations should be confined to those classes which are undoubtedly socially and educationally backward. The benefit of Art. 15(4) or Art. 16(4) should not be made available to 'classes' which are fairly advanced either socially or educationally;
2. the reservation made must be reasonable but not excessive;
3. no sooner a 'class' reaches what is popularly known as the 'take off' stage it should no longer have the benefit of any reservation. Thereafter it will not be in the interest of the Nation or even that of the class in question to continue to rely on artificial support. The best in a person is brought out when there is competition; and
4. the State should provide special coaching for those who are selected through the reserve pool so that they may not lag behind others.